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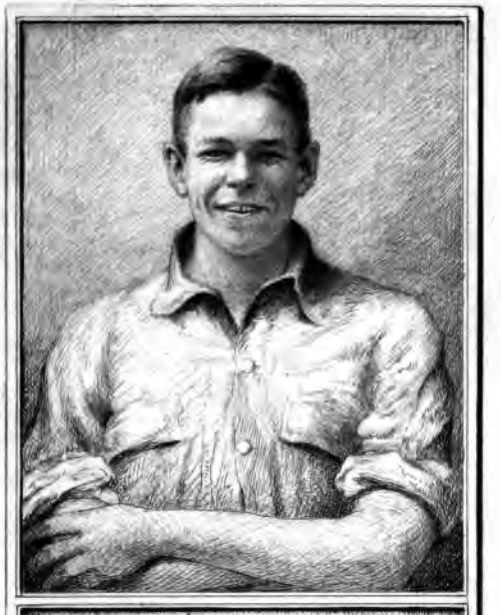
THE MOTHER OF CALIFORNIA

ARTHUR WALBRIDGE NORTH



In Memory of
STEPHEN SPAULDING
1907 – 1925
CLASS of 1927
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

THE ANCIENT BELLS OF LORETO

Unanswered, save by the sighing palms of a sleeping pueblo and the murmuring waves of an unfrequented sea, the ancient bells of Loreto swing high above the mission roof of this early capital of the West, bravely acclaiming the glory of California days of long ago

THE MOTHER OF CALIFORNIA

BEING AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE LITTLE KNOWN LAND OF BAJA CALIFORNIA, FROM THE DAYS OF CORTEZ TO THE PRESENT TIME, DEPICTING THE ANCIENT MISSIONS THEREIN ESTABLISHED, THE MINES THERE FOUND, AND THE PHYSICAL, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ASPECTS OF THE COUNTRY; TOGETHER WITH AN EXTENSIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY RELATIVE TO THE SAME

BY

ARTHUR WALBRIDGE NORTH

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

CYRUS C. ADAMS

OF THE AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

ILLUSTRATED

PAUL ELDER AND COMPANY

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The Tomoye Press

THIS LITTLE BOOK IS SERIOUSLY INSCRIBED TO THOSE WHO LOOK AHEAD BEYOND THE OPENING OF THE PANAMA CANAL AND TO ALL WHO ARE INTERESTED IN EARLY CALIFORNIA HISTORY. IT IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED TO THE HONORABLE H. H. NORTH, OF SAN FRANCISCO, IN WHOSE COMPANY I MADE MY FIRST VISIT INTO LOWER CALIFORNIA, AND TO THE MEMORY OF OUR FATHER, THE LATE GEORGE NORTH, WHO CROSSED THE ISTHMUS OF PANAMA IN THE FIFTIES AND WHOSE REMINISCENCES OF PIONEER DAYS IN CALIFORNIA EARLY DIRECTED THE ATTENTION OF HIS SONS TO ALL THAT PERTAINED TO THE HISTORY OF THEIR NATIVE STATE.—A. W. N.

Stephen Spaulding Mem.
Bennett & Marshall
7-16-59
SS-4255

INTRODUCTION

I was glad to improve an opportunity to read the manuscript of this work because it deals with a vast region at our very doors—a land whose coasts are touched many times a year by steamers and whose northern mountains have been invaded by our miners; and yet, but yesterday, it was almost utterly neglected, as little known and as poorly mapped as many of the out-of-the-way corners of the world.

It was a pleasure to read Mr. North's work which now comes before the public. It untangles and pieces together the fragmentary threads of the early Spanish records and weaves them into a clear and consecutive narrative that makes the story of the great Peninsula vivid; it is permeated with the knowledge and results which the author gained through his own careful investigations in the Peninsula.

Many readers will now learn for the first time that Lower California is not an utterly barren waste; that it is a tropical country with a salubrious climate and many regions of luxuriant vegetation; that its northern and southern parts are utterly unlike one another and that rich resources abound that are certain to be developed.

This is a pioneer book in a new field—a record of our present knowledge and the history of an expansive region that has never been well known and has long been misunderstood. It is a book that will be welcomed not only by those interested in geographical research and in the history of the Californias, but by all who delight in the spirit of romance so interwoven with the history of Spanish America.

CYRUS C. ADAMS.

New York City, October, 1907.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

Fifty-four years ago today a soldier of fortune, William Walker, citizen of the State of California, sailed southward from the Golden Gate intent on the conquest of Lower California, a helpless province of a friendly nation. After possessing himself of that province by force of arms, Walker ruthlessly destroyed a wealth of historical detail concerning the Californias by permitting his filibustering followers to make rifle cartridges out of the public documents gathered at La Paz. If those who chance to peruse this book can find herein, again knit together, the romantic narrative of "poor Lower California," then a later visitor from the Golden Gate may have made some reparation to the elder California for the misdoings of Walker.

Filled with the most grateful feelings toward the good people of Lower California, I, that later visitor from the North, here record my keen appreciation of the extreme courtesy with which statistical facts concerning the Peninsula were placed at my disposal by such gracious gentlemen as Señor J. A. Romero of Loreto, Señor J. A. Bouchet of Santa Rosalia, Coronel Celsa Vega, Jefe Político *of the* Distrito Norte, *Coronel Agustín Sanginés,* Jefe Político *of the* Distrito Sur, *Señor Arcadio Villegras, secretary of Coronel Sanginés, and the officials of* El Boleo. *And while mentioning first these gentlemen of station, I am not heedless of the debt which I owe to rancher and miner for hospitality and information, nor am I forgetful of my humble friends of the* camino *and camp-fire, ancient Indians and unlettered Mexicans, who, in that land of romance, unfolded to me the fascinating traditional lore which had come to them from their fathers and their fathers' fathers before them. Finally, I desire here to express my appreciation of the numerous*

courtesies extended to me by the "Sunset Magazine" and by various American personages, courtesies which greatly facilitated the progress of my researches in Mexico.

ARTHUR W. NORTH.

New York, October 16, 1907.

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THE MOTHER OF CALIFORNIA

I

IN THE DAYS OF THE CONQUISTADORES

Great State of California, superb in thy wealth of minerals, clime and soil, threefold wealth with which a munificent Creator endowed thee! Fortunate State, scarce threescore years in being and yet known and blessed beyond the seas! California, majestic State of California, carest thou, on thine onward march, to recall the centuries when thou wert but an unknown part of those strange, mysterious lands, *las Californias!* Wouldst thou and those to whom thou art a potentiality hear the romantic story of thy mother, the First California, that California whose beginnings are thine own? Strange, strange indeed, California, that those brave days should be buried in oblivion, thine earliest heroes forgotten! Every *camino,** every mission, every harbor in thy southern Peninsula is rich with their memories, but alack, who knows aught of poor Lower California!

A long jagged Peninsula, where barren heights and cactus-clad mesas glow in the biting rays of an unobscured sun, where water-holes are accorded locations on the maps, and where, under the fluttering shade of fluted palm boughs, life becomes a siesta dream. A land great in its past and lean in its present. A land where the rattlesnake and the sidewinder, the tarantula

*Throughout this volume *camino* is used as in Lower California to signify any highway from the narrowest trail to the broadest road.—A. W. N.

and the scorpion multiply, and where sickness is unknown and fivescore years no uncommon span of life. A land of strange contradictions! A Peninsula which to the Spanish *conquistadores* was an island glittering in the azure web of romance, a land for which the padres gave their lives in fanatic devotion to the Cross; a land rich in history, when the timbers of the *Mayflower* were yet trees in the forest. Lower California, once sought and guarded for her ores and her jewels, now a veritable terra incognita, slumbering, unnoticed, at the feet of her courted child, the great State of California! Lower California, her romance nigh forgotten, her possibilities overlooked by enterprise and by the statesmen of two republics, her condition, today, most tersely described in the words ascribed to President Diaz, *"pobre Baja California"!*

Yet through three centuries her history throbs with a romantic ardor foreign to the usual cold record of succeeding events, and, of those earlier days when the world itself was young, the geologists, reading in her deep arroyos and rugged sierras primeval events, relate most strange tales of mighty subterranean conflicts and of an island rising from the sea and becoming a portion of a peninsula. Eventually a race of people came upon the Peninsula and inscribed strange hieroglyphics on the bold cliffs; these people disappeared and the Indians took their places and multiplied into thousands, living the while in expectancy of the coming of mightier beings. They came, but they were conquering Spanish warriors, and not gods.

It was in the year 1527 that Fernando Cortez, or Hernando Cortés, the great Spanish captain-general, keen for further adventure and unsatiated by the wealth of the Montezumas, despatched his kinsman, one of Balboa's veterans, Alvara de Saavedra, from the port of Tehuantepec on the west coast of

Mexico, with instructions to discover, if possible, a route from New Spain to the recently discovered Spice Islands (now the Philippines) and also a strait supposed to exist somewhere to the northwest. Saavedra reached the Ladrones and later visited Mindanao, thrilling adventures marking his voyage; shortly thereafter he died at sea, and his expedition thereupon passed through a succession of misfortunes.

Undaunted by this failure, Cortez in quick succession despatched two exploring parties, one from Tehuantepec, the other from Zacatula. They accomplished nothing worthy of note. Ill success to Cortez was an incentive to greater effort. In 1532 he sent Mendoza from Acapulco under instructions to make diligent search among the islands and along the coast of New Spain for that westerly island whence the courtiers of the Aztec Montezuma stated that their emperor had acquired much of his treasure, and which, from a current fable concerning Amazonian warriors supposedly there residing, was frequently termed *Las Islas Amazones.*

And it is worthy of note that in the days of Cortez there was a widely read romance, "*Las Sergus de Esplandian*" by name, in which it was written: "On the right hand of the Indies there is an island called *California,* very near to the terrestrial paradise—an island peopled by Amazons." And from this island, rather than *Ciguatan,* the name given by the *caciques* of Colima to a treasure island in the West, or the Latin words *calida fornax* (hot furnace), the Peninsula acquired its name. Today, though the women of both Californias are famed for their vigor, there are no Amazons roaming through the land; but California is a greater name to conjure by even than in the days of the *caciques!*

Mendoza sailed northward—and never returned. Storms, treacherous natives, mutiny and starvation swallowed up master

and crew alike, save only three poor survivors. To Cortez there was no such word as failure; he was a great man. In October, 1524, he had written to the Spanish king: "They tell me that *Ciguatan* is an island inhabited by women without any men, although at certain times they are visited by men from the mainland, and if the women bear female children they are protected, but if males they are driven from society. They also tell me it is very rich in pearls and gold, respecting which I shall labor to obtain the truth, and give your Majesty a full account of it." The great captain was still determined to carry out his promise; accordingly, in the year 1533 he despatched another expedition, this time from Tehuantepec. Two ships sailed forth, one under Diego Becerra with Fortun Xímenez as pilot, the second under Hernando Grijalvo with Martin de Cósta as pilot; both captains had instructions to search for Mendoza. Both failed, though Grijalvo reported the discovery of a mermaid and Becerra was murdered by Xímenez. This last-named rover, with the crew of his late captain, sailed westward, after his little venture in blood, and, anchoring in a small bay on an unvisited coast, named the bay Santa Cruz—and became entitled to be known as the first man to land on the shores of California. Incidentally, with some score of his mutinous men, he met retributive justice at the hands of the natives of California.

By this time Cortez was out a fortune in gold from his various expeditions; also, he had enemies in New Spain and at home yelping at his heels. In the year 1535 he sailed to the West in person, in search of the land where Xímenez met his death, and also of the spot where the companions of the worthy pilot had found many pearls, for they had not returned to New Spain empty-handed. Cortez was successful in his search; he found the Bay of Santa Cruz, plenty of pearls, and sufficient

Indians to make the securing of the pearls interesting and his efforts at colonization a failure.

Today, Cortez is forgotten in the land; the Indians and the Spaniards have passed away, but the harbor, of which he took possession, in the name of the Crown of Spain, still glistens in all its ancient beauty; it is still famed for its pearls—but now it is called the Bay of La Paz.

About the time of this trip of Cortez, a new figure appeared, unexpectedly, in New Spain with tales to fire anew the ardor of the *conquistadores*. Alvara Nuñez, Cabeza de Vaca, he of the cow's head and a meteoric career in his emperor's army, had been wrecked on the Florida coast in the year 1527. By rapid turns he became slave and demigod, sufferer and prince; for nine years he tasted every fate, his hundreds of comrades sinking into a handful, and in the year 1536 he burst upon the horizon of New Spain by way of Culiacan in Sinaloa, accompanied only by a few survivors, including a mulatto named Sebastian.

Sebastian had not only seen a strange and unknown country, but in the paint shop of his imaginative mind he was enabled to add alluring color and detail to the scenes of those unknown northern wilds. One can picture the whites of his eyes rolling with deep mystery as he told of gold, silver and precious stones; of the Seven Cities of Cibola, and of King Tatarax, with long beard, bejeweled robes and wondrous palaces, who worshiped before a golden cross and rendered obeisance to the image of the Queen of Heaven. A year later the worthy Friar Marcós de Noza, who had wandered in the country north of Mexico, returned to the Spanish settlements and in nowise allowed himself to be outdone by Sebastian in the matter of picturesque accounts of the northern wonders. Against these delightful tales the temperament and ardor of

conquistador and padre were not proof, and in 1539 Cortez sent forth his last expedition in search of the regions of gold and silver and jewels, now supposed beyond a doubt to lie to the northwest.

Francisco de Ulloa was in command, having with him three ships; he arrived in due time at what is known as the headwaters of the Gulf of California, and finding barren shores and turbulent waters straightway put about and sailed away to Colima where he repaired his vessels. He then continued on to the port of Santa Cruz on the Peninsula. Leaving Santa Cruz late in the fall of 1539, Ulloa sailed southward until he had breasted a high promontory, Cape San Lucas; rounding this he steered northward along the Pacific Coast. Indians, sickness and disaster visited the voyagers, and no jewels or precious metals came in their path. Neither did they stumble across cities with golden pavements. The adventurous navigator seems to have sighted the superb harbor which is now known as Magdalena Bay, just south of the twenty-fifth parallel, and also Cedros Island, off the twenty-eighth parallel. However, despite the propitious fortune which had permitted him to discover both the mighty Colorado River and the magnificent Bay of Magdalena, the voyage was fateful for Ulloa, as he never returned, and only one of his vessels found her way back to Acapulco. Some idea of the southern outline of California had at last been acquired and the Gulf of California partially explored; furthermore, the latter now received a name, the "Sea of Cortez."

About this time Mendoza, the new viceroy and the bitter rival of Cortez, despatched a dual expedition to obtain knowledge concerning the wondrous country of the cheerful story-teller, Sebastian, and that other worthy, Padre Marcós, and also, presumably, to gather in a few bushel baskets of the

MAGDALENA BAY

Discovered by De Ulloa in 1539. Here the U. S. Government has secured a coaling station and here her Navy engages in big gun practice

jewels and to annex a few blocks of those golden-paved streets. Francis Vasquéz de Coronado commanded the land forces and Fernando de Alarcon the fleet. In the adventures of the land forces Lower California has slight concern.

Up the west coast of the Spanish Main, Alarcon went, poking along, and finally, late in the summer of 1541, he sighted the headwaters of the Gulf. Doubtless, as an officer of Mendoza, he did not call it the Sea of Cortez; perhaps he was the one who christened it the Vermilion Sea. "When we were come," he wrote in his report, "to the flats and shoals, the pilots and the rest of the company would have had us do as Captain Ulloa did, and have returned back again. But because your lordship commanded me that I should bring you the secret of the Gulf, I resolved that although I had known I should have lost the ships, I should not have ceased for anything to have seen the head thereof. * * * Within a short time we found ourselves fast on the sands with all our three ships. Now it pleased God upon the return of the flood that the ships came afloat, and so we went forward. * * * After this sort we came to the very bottom of the bay, where we found a mighty river which ran with so great a fury of a stream that we could hardly sail against it." And small wonder the old rover found the sailing difficult, for here the tide ascends full twelve leagues up the river, battling with the furious current of the mighty Colorado and producing a frightfully dangerous tidal bore, the lowest stage thereof being three feet and the highest seven times as great. However, the admiral went forward in a rowboat, forcing his way up the river for seventy or eighty leagues, then, not meeting with the land forces of Coronado, he turned about and shortly sailed for Acapulco.

In 1542 Juan Cabrillo, a noted Portuguese mariner in the

Spanish service, was sent forth by Mendoza with instructions to continue beyond the limits of Ulloa's voyage up the west coast of California. This most adventurous captain doubled Cape San Lucas, visited the *Puerto de Magdalena, Abreojos Punto,* Zedros or Cedros Island, Viscaino Bay, *Mal Abrigo* or *Punto de Cañoas,* above the twenty-ninth parallel, and *Puerto de la Posesión,* presumably San Quintin Bay, near the thirtieth parallel. Here he stopped for water and wood; here, also, he found salt ponds, and from the Indians whom he met learned that people of his own kind were to be found five days' journey to the eastward, doubtless some of Alarcon's force. Sailing northward Cabrillo noted what is now Cape San Quintin, *Puerto San Matéo,* doubtless the present Todos Santos Bay, and continued on to the thirty-second parallel, where he saw flocks of a strange kind of deer with small horns—antelope undoubtedly. He even ventured still farther northward beyond the regions of Lower California, though there is no record in his log how far north he penetrated.

Some twenty years later, Andreas Urdeneta, a sailor monk, steered a course northward from the Philippine Islands, finding favorable winds which brought his vessel off what is now known as Cape Mendocino on the California coast; thence he sailed southward, rounding Cape San Lucas and finally reaching Acapulco. After 1570 Spanish treasure ships sailed twice a year from Acapulco to the Philippine Islands, via the Island of Guam and the Ladrones, and made their return voyage along the course taken by Urdeneta: by thus shaping their voyages, they found themselves mightily favored by the winds and by the equatorial and Japanese ocean currents.

In 1587 Sir Thomas Cavendish, an English explorer and privateer, with an itching for all this good treasure, sighted Cape San Lucas and shortly thereafter captured the Spanish

galleon, *Santa Ana,* with a delightful cargo of Chinese goods besides three million dollars' worth of jewels, bullion and coin. Gratified by this comforting "find," Cavendish rested for a time in the Bay of San Bernarbe, a few miles east of Cape San Lucas, whence he sailed for the Philippines, meeting almost immediately frightful storms which carried one of his vessels, the *Content,* out of her course. She was never heard from again. Doubtless the cargo of the *Content,* the gold, silver and jewels, are now scattered in the sands along the west coast of Lower California.

A brief quotation from the amiable captain's report, rendered after his arrival at Plymouth in 1589, will provide a pleasing vista of maritime conditions in the sixteenth century: "I have," wrote the gentle Cavendish, "navigated along the coasts of Chili, Peru and Nova Spagna, where I made great spoils; I burnt nineteen ships, small and great, and all the villages and towns I landed at I burnt and spoiled."

The wars of the Reformation in England and Holland were coincident with the sailing forth of many Dutch and English filibustering expeditions. These worthies traded with the Indians of Lower California for pearls; they smuggled through the ports of the Main; they lay close at Pichilingue and the adjacent Bay of Ventana, near the twenty-fourth parallel, and dashing forth raked fore and aft the Manila galleons, capturing their rich cargoes of silks, satins, spices, bullion, coin and jewels, not forgetting, in their haste, an occasional batch of pretty señoritas—for these were the wild times when life and death and romance and fighting mingled freely together.

Such presumptuous daring, however, awoke the resentment of their Spanish majesties, and the Viceroy of Mexico was directed to explore the coast of California and to found

settlements, one near Cape San Lucas and the other somewhere immediately below Cape Mendocino. The purpose of their majesties was, that the Manila galleons be assisted; that the western slope become an actual part of their majesties' domain; that the Catholic religion be extended among the Indians; that the "Straits of Annian" be located—they were said to pass through the land north of California and to come out near the New Foundland cod fisheries; and finally, primarily and all the time, that the rich country, supposedly existing to the north, be made to yield its treasures to the Crown.

To carry out this manifold purpose, Sebastian Viscaino was sent forth from Acapulco in command of three ships manned by a goodly company of men among whom were four Franciscan friars. Proceeding to the port of Santa Cruz, to which he gave the name of La Paz because of the friendly welcome there accorded him by the natives, Viscaino effected a landing and planted a settlement. This last venture failing from the very outset, he returned to the mainland from whence he sailed forth again in 1602. On this voyage he visited the Bays of Magdalena, San Bartolomé, Las Virgenes, San Quintin, Colnett and Todos Santos. His followers were a brilliant company, well characterized by the old chroniclers as the "most enlightened corps ever raised in New Spain." On his return to Mexico and to Spain Viscaino was treated with high honor, but his suggestions concerning a further voyage and a more complete exploration were received with so much of the procrastinating spirit which has accursed Spain and Spanish methods that death interposed and cut off the explorer before the hidalgos were prepared to send him forth again. Over one hundred and fifty years were to elapse ere the undertaking of further explorations along the western coast of California.

No such slight, however, was accorded to the eastern

ARROYO OF PURÍSIMA

bounds. On the contrary, close on the heels of the sailing of Viscaino, Juan de Oñate, first governor of New Mexico and a veritable second Coronado, set forth from his province to ascertain what might lie hidden away in the southwest. In due course of time the intrepid governor arrived at the Rio Colorado which had been rather neglected by Europeans since the visit of Alarcon, three-quarters of a century earlier. Following the river's southerly course, Oñate arrived at its mouth in January, 1605. Well satisfied with a sight of the glistening *Mar de Cortez,* of great stretches of overflowed lands and a hovering cloud of inquisitive savages, Oñate turned about and went home. To repeat his journey, even under modern conditions, would be an undertaking of considerable moment.

In 1616, four years before the *Mayflower* sighted Plymouth and eleven years after Oñate's visit to the head of the Gulf, Don Juan Iturbi crossed its southern waters and acquired pearls near La Paz. Sixteen years later Francisco Ortega made a similar voyage. These surely were the "good old days," for their history seems to deal mainly with such romantic subjects as the royal strong box, rich galleons, silver 'dobes, gold doubloons, pearls, pieces of eight, silks and satins, hangers and jack-boots.

In the year 1683, Admiral Isidro Otondo y Antillon sailed from the Spanish Main, accompanied by Padres Juan Copart, Kino and Gomi, of the Jesuit Society, and clothed with a royal warrant for colonizing the country. He made a brief visit but returned again the following winter and anchored in the Bay of San Bruno, near the twenty-sixth parallel. From here he sent a party into the interior. The three padres accompanied this expedition. The explorers traveled fifty Spanish* leagues

*The Spanish league is equivalent to 2.6 statute miles. Wherever the term "league" appears in these chapters without the qualifying word "Spanish," it refers to the American league of three statute miles.— A. W. N.

northwest to a level stretch above a river, and, as they doubtless overestimated the distance, it is probable that they halted on the table-lands above the Arroyo of Purísima. After this expedition the admiral sailed away to the Main; later he made a short visit to San Bruno and then again returned to Mexico.

Though on one of these trips Otondo had caused his followers to erect temporary fortifications inland from the Bay of Santa Cruz and the padres had endeavored to establish, in the same locality, a mission dedicated to *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe,* their efforts were abortive and came to naught. However, even though fruitless, these labors are deserving of notice, for they were the first serious attempts at building ever made in the Californias.

With the departure of Otondo and Kino, closes the first century and a half of California history. During this period, beginning with the expeditions sent forth by Cortez from Tehuantepec and Acapulco, explorers had passed along the entire coast line of the Peninsula and even up the Colorado River to a point above the present site of Yuma, Arizona.

Moreover, doughty Spanish navigators had planted the flag of their nation on the shores of the Californias and tested with profit the extensive pearl fisheries along the Gulf Coast, while the hidalgos at home had acquired a respectful idea of the geographical value to Spain of these strangely romantic Californias. Evidently, in connection with her rich trade with the Spice Islands and the Far East, their location made them of supreme importance, for her navigators had found that the prevalent winds and principal ocean currents of the Pacific were such that the Manila galleons on their western voyages from the ports of Tehuantepec or Panama could readily put in for water and repairs at any of the bays about Cape San Lucas, while the northern Mendocino coast and the Cape San

Lucas regions were havens of refuge on their return. Further, bitter experience with the rapacious buccaneers had taught Spain the danger to her Pacific commerce when these Californian shores were open to hostile ships.

Notwithstanding the venturesome trips of the various bold voyagers of this period, however, the general conception of even the coast line of the Peninsula was still so hazy that the Californias were set down in the 1686 report of the explorations of Otondo and Kino as an *island,* seventeen hundred leagues in length by five hundred in width! As for the interior of the country, it was a book with uncut leaves.

II

THE SWAY OF THE JESUIT PADRES

Over one hundred and fifty years had now elapsed since the voyages of Cortez to California, and all attempts of Spain to occupy the country had resulted in disastrous failures; the Spanish government, discouraged by its costly and unremunerative expeditions, decided to delegate the task of colonizing the country. With this end in view they turned to the Company of Jesus, a Roman Catholic society founded in France by Ignatius Loyola a century and a half before.

The French explorers of the New World were brave men and tactful with the natives. The English settlers were more aggressive than the French, certainly less tactful. In later generations the American frontiersmen and trappers became noted as the embodiments of personal courage, and occasionally they were diplomatic with the Indians. The Jesuits, who entered the missionary field in California, however, were possessed of the tact of the French explorers, the persistency of the English settlers and the diplomacy and bravery of the American frontiersmen. Of this even a skeptic can become thoroughly convinced by traveling through the wildernesses of Lower California and observing the works and studying the history of the Society of Jesus.

The Spanish government had made no mistake in its policy, and it showed further wisdom in placing Padre Juan María Salvatierra, a native of Milan and a priest of noble parentage and ancient Spanish descent, in full charge of the

occupation of California. In the history of the Californias the name of Salvatierra must take rank with that of Fernando Cortez; for the priest developed what the conqueror had discovered.

On the mainland Salvatierra was to have the active assistance of Padre Kino. Padre Juan Ugarte, a man of exceptional ability and shrewdness as well as piety, volunteered to assist both on the Peninsula and the mainland. Various pious individuals at once subscribed funds for the support of the new undertaking; these contributions were the foundation of the *Fundo Piedoso de California,* or Pious Fund, which over two centuries later was to engage the attention of the tribunal of The Hague. Finally, on the 5th of February, 1697, the Spanish viceroy, Conde de Montezuma, granted a license, empowering Salvatierra and Kino to undertake the conversion of the Californias on two conditions: first, that it should be at their own expense; and second, that the country should be taken possession of in the name of the King of Spain. Management, routine and policy were left in the hands of the padres.

On the 15th day of October, 1697, Padre Salvatierra, with the magnificent escort of six soldiers, landed on the east coast of the Peninsula and said mass. The following day, after anchoring at the Bay of San Bruno, the party made a permanent landing; and for seventy years thereafter the Society of Jesus controlled California, a seventy years which represents the era of Lower California's greatest activity and greatest prosperity. Before the newcomers stretched a wide plain running back a few leagues to the mighty cliffs and peaks of a mountain range which they christened the Sierra Giganta; the general height of these rugged Sierras was over five thousand feet above the sea level. The soil of the plain was fairly good, and Indians, fresh water and a seaport were in close proximity with one another.

Writers have concurred in the belief that Salvatierra began at once the construction of a mission; rather strangely, however, many of them name Loreto, situated several leagues south of the San Bruno landing, as his initial foundation. The Spanish historian Lassepas designates San Juan Londa, situated on the plain near San Bruno Bay, as the first church, and dates Loreto in the following year. Since good old Padre Venegas wrote his chronicles of Lower California, a century and a half ago, the historians of that country, as has ever been the wont of historians, have cheerfully contradicted one another and located places about the Peninsula with a pepperbox of geographical ignorance. Apparently neither Clavijero, Venegas, or any of the later historians ever visited Lower California, certainly they did not study the interior of the Peninsula; therefore, where these worthies differ, or where their accounts are at variance with the ruins or geography of the country, this chronicle will follow, independently, the ruins and geography, paying such attention as shall be reasonable to the traditions of the natives.

Today there may be seen ancient stone ruins at a place still known as San Juan, situated four leagues north of Loreto and near San Bruno Bay, and here the old Mexicans and Indians say that the first mission was located. Visiting both Loreto and San Juan in 1867, Professor William Gabb, the American scientist, rather irreverently wrote: "The story runs, that the padres were on their way to this place (San Juan), which had been prepared beforehand, when, as they reached the present site of Loreto, the mule that was bearing the image of the Virgin miraculously stumbled and fell, throwing the image to the ground. This event was accepted as an intimation of the Virgin's desire to locate there, which was accordingly done. From a comparison of the localities, I am inclined

to think that she or the mule showed bad taste, but tastes differ." And in view of the large and, in the rainy season, dangerous arroyo beside the Loreto Mission site, the traveler can but agree with the irreverent professor.

But San Juan Londa was merely a temporary site. It was Loreto that was permanent; Loreto that was important, that was to become great and historical. Loreto, situated on the Gulf Coast in latitude 26° north, longitude 111°, 21' west of Greenwich, was to become the capital of the Californias, and Our Lady of Loreto was to become the beneficent guardian of California and her missions. The very name was dear to every padre, for it came from the city of Loreto* near sacred Rome. Let the date of 1698 be appended to the founding of Loreto.

Soon Ugarte joined Salvatierra. Assisted by the "army" and the well-disposed Indians, the padres erected at Loreto a chapel—they called it an *iglesia,* or church—a storehouse and residence quarters or barracks. An arsenal and "government house" were constructed subsequently; from the first the quarters of padre and soldier were near together, the distant presidio being a later *Alta California* arrangement. Reading of these doings, the advance of the padres seems tranquil and ordinary, and yet only through their tact, fervor and energy was any progress possible. The Indians were treacherous; there was no one to interpret their language; only by extreme diplomacy and patience was open and continual warfare

*A name of greater dignity and religious importance could scarcely have been selected. According to ancient tradition the house in which the Virgin Mary was born was miraculously removed from the Holy Land to Italy, where it was ultimately deposited in a grove of *lauretum.* A chapel was constructed from the wood of this grove and named "Laureti," afterward "Loreto." The California mission site had been known locally among the natives as "Concha," after a sub-tribe of that name dwelling in the neighborhood. Salvatierra seems to have termed it "San Dionysius" until church and queen bestowed the more sacred name.—A. W. N.

averted. The padres tactfully began by instructing the children; in return they learned the dialect from the little ones. In these modern days of scoffing, it is amusing and almost pathetic to read of the unquestioning faith of the padres; the Indian, crouching behind a *viznaga* and drawing an arrow in his bow, had the devil to assist him in sighting at a padre, while the yellow-jacket, that chanced to buzz in the archer's face and upset his aim, was sent by Our Lady of Loreto.

Nor were the Indians and ignorance of their language the only drawbacks. The newcomers had no great supply of provisions, and what there was had to be shared with the hungry Indians to obtain their good-will and their services. There were no maturing crops ready for early harvest, and the country itself was not promising. No oaks, no pines, no sycamores cast inviting shadows during the hot days. Close against the shore line there were a few tall palms, in the arroyos the mesquit grew, with its scanty shade and sharp thorns, and the slender *palo blanco* with its ashen bark; great *cardones* were to be seen in every direction, raising their stalwart branches skyward, fluted, thorny, barren of all leaves and giving such a narrow shade; the *viznaga,* a barrel-shaped cactus, stocky, green, fluted, covered with fish-hooklike thorns, spotted the plains, but not a branch reached out from its armored body; the black *pithaya* were there in great numbers, their snakelike limbs, armed with thorny needles, sullenly blocking the way of the traveler; the sweet *pithaya,* too, tall, graceful and refreshingly green, grew in great numbers, but it also had thorns in place of leaves, and though, in the late summer season, it produced a wondrous fruit, it furnished little shade. And over all the plains and down in the arroyos, in serried ranks grew the *cholla,* most provoking of the cactus tribe; its branches, composed of various sections, each an inch in diameter, two or

MISSION OF LA PRESENTACION

Probably the first foundation of San Francisco Xavier de Vigge and as such the only seventeenth century building now standing in the Californias

three inches in length and covered with thorns both great and small, stood ready to loose these hostile sections upon the venturesome traveler who dared to seek a passage through their midst. It was a wild land.

But the padres were undiscouraged by surroundings. They had come to conquer and they did not pause with the small foundation at San Juan Londa and the more substantial establishment at Loreto as the sum of their work in the closing years of the seventeenth century. Salvatierra was a man of system, and as such he found time not only for laboring about the missions and among the Indians, but also for writing letters of encouragement to friends and brothers on the Spanish Main and in Europe; and he made time for exploring the country with a view to further foundations. Immediately south of Loreto lies *Puerto Escondido,* a land-locked bay, for all the world like a beautiful lake. This bay the padres found extremely useful, and Salvatierra, noting what he thought was a favorable site for a mission a few leagues south therefrom, in January, 1699, proceeded to establish the Mission of San Juan Bautista de Malibat—*Liguig,* the Indians called it. Malibat, however, was at no time successful, and was finally absorbed in the newer Mission of Nuestra Señor de los Dolores, more generally known as Dolores del Sur, and established in 1721 on the Gulf Coast some thirty odd leagues further southward.

In the fall of the year 1697, Padre Francisco María Piccolo, a highly educated native of Sicily and a staunch friend of Salvatierra, joined the latter at Loreto. Having heard of a large Indian settlement in a deep valley some distance to the southwest of Loreto, he made an arduous journey in search of the spot, a journey which well exemplifies the difficulties under which the padres labored through their ignorance of the Indian dialects. Padre Piccolo thought the rancheria was termed

"La Vigge"; "Vigge" to the Indians meant "mountains"; in consequence, while the padre persistently inquired of each new body of Indians whom he met the way to La Vigge, their directions merely led him to new mountain peaks. He has the fervid sympathy of any one who seeks directions in the interior of the Peninsula in these days, for even now the native gracefully waves his hands across a vista of three points of the compass and murmurs, "Over there." Whether Piccolo went from Loreto by the trail known as *Los Parros* (The Wild Grapes), or by Chuenca and thence up the arroyos of Santa Cruz, Las Palmas and San Xavier, he found rough traveling either way, for the gorge of Los Parros, though most beautiful to behold, is frightfully rocky and given to precipitous passes; the Chuenca way is equally bad. It is small wonder that the good father had, eventually, to dismount and make his way forward on foot. Finally, however, he discovered the rancheria hid away in the midst of lofty rock-covered mountains, some eight leagues southwest of Loreto. Here, early in 1699, Piccolo founded the Mission of San Francisco Xavier de Vigge, located, geographically, in latitude 25°, 52' north, longitude 111°, 33' west.* He was succeeded shortly by Juan Ugarte. In tradition, this good padre looms up delightfully as a powerful man with a fascinating knack of jerking the natives off their feet when they were slow at accepting Christian doctrine. Peace to his ashes, brave soul!

The old chroniclers say that the Mission of San Xavier was twice moved; they fail, however, to locate definitely the successive sites. Today at San Xavier, a beautiful stone church, reputed to have been erected at an expense of over a million

*In this sketch coast geographical locations are taken from the United States Hydrographic Reports hereinafter mentioned; latitude and longitude of interior places have been personally approximated; in no case does the writer give the seconds either of latitude or longitude.—A. W. N.

pesos, profits of pearl fisheries, raises high aloft its belfry and its spires; cut in the stone above the lintels of the door is the date 1751, and the natives who live in one of the arched rooms where once the padres resided, will tell the traveler that this noble structure was thirty years in course of construction and that the stone ruins immediately to the east are the remains of the earlier missions. The wrinkled Indians, who live in huts near by, verify these statements. If the traveler will journey some four leagues down the arroyo, keeping the trail that leads to the rancho Jesus Maria, noting closely the rabbit and cattle trails leading off to his right, he may perchance catch a glimpse of a great stone corral hidden away by the brush. If his curiosity takes him from the trail to examine this corral, he will find near it a small and most ancient mission church, seventy-five feet in length by fifteen in breadth, rearing itself full twenty-five feet among the giant *cardones;* within he will find two rooms and a ruined altar; growing trees have ripped open the roof, but the cut stone walls have withstood time and earthquakes. Other stone buildings are a few yards away, also a magnificent irrigating cistern, full seventy feet square and six feet deep, with a stone aqueduct to supply and another to take away the water; stone steps lead down to the bottom of the cistern. Of the few people who live in this wilderness, many are not even aware of the existence of these ruins, but those that are, unite in giving to them an antiquity greater than that of San Xavier. They refer to them as the Mission of La Presentación. As no such mission was recorded by the chroniclers, it would seem as though *La Presentación* might mark the most ancient site of the Mission of San Francisco Xavier de Vigge and as though its ruins might be the remains of the first San Xavier, erected in the year of our Lord 1699. Near all the sites of San Xavier there is an abun-

dance of water and some few acres of level land, and around the present mission are immense orange and lemon trees, fine limes and olives, many pomegranates, and fields where peas and *garabanzas*, beans and wheat, corn and sugar-cane thrive most wondrously.

The eighteenth century opened. With Londa, Loreto, Malibat and San Xavier to care for, the padres waited five years before expanding further; then, thirty leagues northward from Loreto, on an eminence overlooking a fine stream which flows into an estuary that reaches up from the Gulf of California, a short league distant, Padre Juan M. Basualda founded the Mission of Santa Rosalía de Mulege, in latitude 26°, 55' north, longitude 112° west. On the fertile bottoms near the stream the padres and their Indian converts planted sugar-cane, date-palms, oranges, lemons, pomegranates, grapevines and vegetables, and with ceaseless industry netted the earth with irrigating ditches which quickened the richness of the soil.

Three years later another advance was made. In the beautiful valley of Comondú, where even now one might live in blissful forgetfulness of the outer world, Padre Julian de Mayorga founded, in the year 1708, the Mission of San José de Comondú. Geographically, this favored spot lay nine leagues northwest of San Xavier, in latitude 26°, 5' north, longitude 111°, 51' west. A stone church was erected shortly. This building, with its massive stone walls and Grecian pillars, its keystones cunningly set to defy time, its pictured nave, its fanciful stone torches surmounting its arched roof, calls forth the admiration of the beholder even now; for the strain of two centuries of earthquakes, vandalism, neglect and growing trees have merely made ragged one wall and broken sections of stone and cement from the vaulted roof. This church con-

SAN JOSÉ DE COMONDÚ

Interior of the mission as seen through a rent in the roof immediately above the altar

stituted one side of a stone structure built about a patio where a stream of water soon meandered amid roses, orange trees, lemons, pomegranates and grape-vines. The other three sections of this structure contained store rooms and living rooms; as a whole it made an enclosure secure from hostile Indians. The fertile valley of Comondú, with its precipitous rocky cliffs at either side, is still in the wilderness and filled with a most wondrous charm. As the poet sings:

"There is no sun like the sun that shines
In the Valley of Comondú;
There are palms and olives and figs and vines
In the Valley of Comondú."

Some time within the next few years, the exact date seems uncertain, the padres founded the Mission of Santa Maria de la Magdalena, sixteen miles northwest of Santa Rosalia de Mulege. Here, with the aid of the Indians, they builded a stone aqueduct, cutting in places through the solid rock, and carried water therein for eight miles so that a few level acres might receive irrigation. *Cholla* and *cardon* are growing over the heap of stones that mark the mission site, but, though the *anabas,* or wild fig, have spread their white roots in many places across the aqueduct, and falling masses of rock and earth have clogged it, one still may see in places the substantial stone and masonry work of the energetic padres. Some travelers, and even the United States Hydrographic Reports, have referred to these works as the ruins of the Mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, but history and local tradition are squarely against such a view.

In the early part of the eighteenth century two different voyagers from foreign lands touched at the Peninsula and made note of their visits. Captain Frondac was the first of these foreign visitors. In the year 1708 he came into a port

near Cedros Island with the *Saint Antoine*, eastward bound from China. Later the *Saint Antoine* visited one of the ports on the Spanish Main and was gracefully "squeezed" by the local *comandante* out of some fourteen thousand *pesos*. In the following year Robinson Crusoe, the second of these foreigners, visited California! This statement need not arouse the reader's incredulity: In the year 1709 Captain Woodes Rogers of England appeared off Cape San Lucas in search of the Manila galleon, having as his pilot William Dampier, and as his second mate one Alexander Selkirk whom he had picked up on San Fernandez Island; a few years later this Alexander Selkirk, in the hands of Defoe, became the wonderful Robinson Crusoe who has enthralled boyhood for nigh two centuries.* Rogers put in with his vessels at the Bay of San Bernarbe. Shortly thereafter, though only by a sharp contest, he captured the *Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación de Singano* with a cargo of one or two million dollars' valuation. Referring to the natives he remarked on their great numbers, their ornaments and necklaces of pearls and their wondrous skill in diving.

By the appointment, in 1704, of Salvatierra as visitador on the Spanish Main and immediately thereafter to the high post of provincial, the Peninsula lost the personal services and presence of that brave and high-minded padre who vainly sought to decline these unsought honors that he might continue in his rugged missionary field. Until his death, in 1717, Salvatierra's advice was continually sought, and before that time and by his aid the mission government was reduced to a system which endured during the period of control of the Society of Jesus.

A father superior was the chief authority in the land, and

*In the 1719 edition of "Robinson Crusoe" there is a map of the world; on this map California appears as an island.

to him natives, priests and soldiers were subject. At first Salvatierra had been the only superior, but as the missions spread over wide stretches of country three districts were established, each of which had a superior who in turn was responsible to a visitador, appointed by the provincial tri-yearly from among the padres. The superiors made their reports to the visitador-general who visited the missions every third year. The soldiers were under the control of their captain who was supreme in civil, judicial and military matters, subject, however, to the visitador. Each mission had an "army" of one soldier—and there is no record as to whether or not occasional sleep was forbidden the guard! The soldiers received the same pay and the same privileges as those in the royal army during campaign service. Such care was exercised in making assignments for the Peninsula "army" that there was never a time when its ranks did not contain men competent to direct and instruct the Indians in carpentering, masonry and blacksmithing.

These mission soldiers were wont to wear leather armor which, despite its convenience for warding off cacti and arrows, must have been woefully uncomfortable during the hot weather. Why, almost anything, even stoking, would seem preferable to girding up one's loins in leather and ascending a steep California sierra on a fine perspiring August day! For arms they carried blunderbusses and weighty broadswords. Though these men were an ordinary lot, destroying, with the diseases which they brought from the mainland, more Indians than they could slay with blunderbuss or broadsword, one of their number became an individual of note. His name was Manuel Osio. Having turned thriftily from soldiering to the gathering of pearls, as a successful *armador de perlas,* or pearl-hunter, Manuel became the first "richest man in California." He, or one of his crew, found one pearl the size of a pigeon's

egg and of the value of fifty thousand *pesos*. The Queen of Spain took the pearl and Señor Osio gathered in the *pesos*.

But to return to the system of mission government. Each mission was the capital of its own community of Indian villages, termed *pueblos de visita*, each under the control of an Indian governor, appointed by the mission padre and authorized to maintain order. In each pueblo there was also an Indian *maestro de la doctrina* who supervised the praying, catechism lessons, etc., which were expected of the natives. At certain periods the Indians came from the pueblos to the missions to receive instructions, hear mass and celebrate feasts. These two last occupations were particularly agreeable to them. Discipline and routine were much more strict about the missions than in the *pueblos de visita*. At the missions there were daily masses, evening service, instructions in some useful art and, for a time, three meals a day.

At the time of the coming of the padres two principal native tribes inhabited the southern portion of the Peninsula: the Pericues, reaching from Cape San Lucas almost to the Bay of La Paz, and the Guiacuras, disputing the northern territory of the Pericues and extending northward to Loreto. A third tribe, the Cochiemes, occupied the region from Loreto to the high mountains at the northern end of the Peninsula; occasionally they wandered into the southern grounds. In the aggregate the Pericues, Guiacuras and Cochiemes numbered full twenty-five thousand. Their men were brave and warlike. Each of these three main tribal divisions was broken into many lesser tribes, with individual dialects and varied idioms. Although these southern Indians gave the Jesuits limited data concerning their early history, it was doubtless all they themselves possessed. Their forefathers, they said, had lived far to the north; having been driven thence by a more powerful

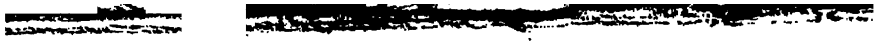
tribe, they moved southward and occupied the country which theretofore had been settled by a giant race which was responsible for the hieroglyphics written on the high cliffs. Concerning the disappearance of this early race they had no knowledge. The Cochiemes, doubtless, were akin to the Yumas; the Pericues and the Guiacuras seem to have been distinct from all other tribes. Although one of the subdivisions of the Pericues called themselves the Coras, a comparison of their vocabulary with that of the Cora tribes in Sinaloa and Jalisco, made in the nineteenth century, developed no analogy. Each of the three main tribes had a language of its own, entirely distinct from the others. The poverty of these primitive vocabularies may be gathered from the following illustrations taken from the Cochieme, the most extensive of the three, thus: to express the day, the Cochieme employed his word for "sun"; as he had no numeral above four, he expressed five by saying "as many as one hand"; ten he could attain by the expression of "as many as two hands," and twenty by "as many as two hands and two feet"; above twenty he was at sea. The time of the year he indicated by reference: thus, to suggest midsummer he referred to "the most joyous season," and his companions understood therefrom that he spoke of the time when the *pithaya* fruit was gathered and the pangs of savage appetite thereby temporarily quieted.

The three tribes were healthy, robust and of good stature. They had coarse, dry, black hair, white regular teeth and well-formed ears, eyes and mouth. The skins of the coast natives were darker than those in the interior. Deformities were rare and drunkenness unknown. The men had sparse beards and strenuously objected to the wearing of clothing; the women, on the other hand, were delighted with the idea of garments and began clothing themselves immediately after the coming

of the padres. The Pericues soon had the best garments, their women adopting a sort of cape and a girdle or short skirt made of palm fiber; the Guiacuras limited themselves to the skirt, while the Cochieme squaws gloried in aprons of fiber and deerskin and skirts of the same material. Lest the reader obtain too exaggerated an idea of the dressmaker's art among these worthies, it may be well to state that whether a skirt or a long girdle was worn, its construction was such as to leave the outer sides of the thighs naked so that the legs might always be free for running. The Pericues practiced polygamy originally, but in time became disconsolate bachelors, from some unexplained reason the number of their women becoming limited. And yet it is to be feared that even the belles of the Pericues had few charms, for the log of Woodes Rogers (1709) bears this ungallant comment upon them: "They need not have hidden away their women, our desires not being inflamed by the beauties of California."

Although all these southern Indians were great fish-eaters and killed game when convenient—cooking the flesh by casting it on the coals or into the flames—their main food supply was the cactus, numerous varieties of which flourished on the sierras and in the valleys. The *pithaya*, the *tuna*, the *garambuyo*, even the vicious *cholla*, yielded fruit which the natives gathered greedily. Their hunger was continuous. There is a Jesuit account of one man who lived to eat seventeen watermelons at a sitting after having established the mighty record of swallowing twenty-four pounds of meat in an equal number of consecutive hours. It is highly probable that this is still the record in the Californias! In the chase and for combat the men used bows, tapering at the ends and thick in the middle, full five and six feet in length; their arrows were a yard long. The arrow tips were hardened in hot ashes and feathers were

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY MAP SHOWING CALIFORNIA AS AN ISLAND- Reproduced here, by photograph, through the courtesy of Wilberforce Eames, Esq., of the Lenox Library. The original of this map may be found in "A New General Atlas of the World, London, 1721," where it appears heralded as "A New Map of America, from the Latest Observations, Revised by John Senex"



attached hard by the notched ends; for large game and warfare, long, fire-hardened tips, with flint points attached, were inserted in the piercing end, increasing at once the length and deadlines of the shafts.

These Indians lived in arbors, caves, excavations and circular pens of stones. They had no homes worthy of the name of houses. The bare ground, or at best a pile of leaves, constituted their only couches. Warm weather pleased them; they feared the cold. This distaste had a way of developing at most annoying times. For instance, one chilly morning a stern padre was delivering an extremely orthodox sermon on the torrid atmosphere of hell. To his horror, he presently observed that his interested auditors were chuckling in delight. Finally, with the arrival of his sizzling, blazing climacteric, their enthusiasm found expression in a salvo of joyous yells. "*Bueno, bueno,*" they cried, "a fine place! Oh, Padre, lead us thither quickly! We are cold, so cold!"

They greatly enjoyed games, while steady labor they detested with like fervor. For a divine Supreme Being they possessed an indefinite, traditional respect even prior to the teachings of the padres. Of the recognition of governmental superiors, however, their tribal life gave no evidence. In fact their only original class distinction had been sexual; men hunted, made war and enjoyed themselves; squaws carried, with their primitive basket trays and nets, all necessary burdens and made themselves generally useful. In tradition and between the lines of mission history, it is written that the revolts among these southern tribes and the murders committed by them were in consequence of the work imposed upon the men by soldiers and padres.

To guard against the warlike propensities of the Indians was a particular duty of the mission soldiers. A captain was

at the head of the soldiery on the Peninsula. As he directly and officially represented the Spanish Crown, he was styled the "Governor" of California. In comparison with the father superior he seems to have been pretty much of a drone. In the period from 1697 to 1768 the office of governor was filled successively by five captains, viz.: Luis de Torres y Tortolero, Antonio Garcia de Mendoza, Estevan Rodriguéz Lorenzo, Bernardo Rodriguéz Lorenzo and Fernando Xr. de Rivera y Moncada.

In the year following the death of Salvatierra, Padre Nicolas Tamaral established the Mission of La Purísima Concepción in latitude 26°, 10' north, longitude 112°, 5' west. The mission was situated in an immense arroyo eight and one-half leagues west of the Mission of Comondú. At the head of the lagoon that makes a pleasant break in the rocky mesa separating the two missions, a *capilla,* or chapel, was built and named *Jesus del Monte.* In the Arroyo of Purísima there were broad fields through which flowed the largest stream, excepting only the Colorado River, that the padres had found on the Peninsula. A church, small but well built, was soon erected, and above the doorway the builders exercised their decorative powers in some extensive carving. Figs, grapes, sugar-cane, vegetables, cattle, horses and mules were raised with great success at Purísima, and the wheat fields became the most extensive in the Peninsula.

For a long time the padres had felt the want of a commodious and seaworthy launch of their own; none being provided for them, they at length decided to build one. To accomplish this purpose, in the year 1719 Padre Juan Ugarte made a long journey into the mountains in search of suitable timber. Twenty leagues northwest of the Mission of Santa Rosalia de Mulege he discovered trees large enough for his

purpose. With the assistance of Indians and swinging a good axe himself, the worthy padre cut down a number of these, and, having carried the logs to the Gulf Coast, he there constructed from them a small vessel which was solemnly christened *El Triumfo de la Cruz.*

Let Ugarte be remembered not only as a man of fine physique, the first ship-builder in the Californias, but as an ardent Christian, a wise old diplomat and a fearless explorer. He stands forth bold, shrewd and aggressive, one of the most heroic figures in early California history. Two years later this good padre personally tested his workmanship by making a notable voyage of exploration in his new vessel. Cardinal Alberoni, minister to Philip V of Spain, had decided that a survey of the upper Gulf might be of use. Consequently, orders shortly arrived for Ugarte to make such a survey. This he straightway proceeded to do. Sailing from Loreto northward, Ugarte anchored first in Concepción Bay, which extends southerly from Santa Rosalia de Mulege; thence he journeyed northward, passing the inlet, in later days to be known as the Bay of Santa Rosalia, and touching at the Sal Si Puedes Islands above the twenty-eighth parallel. Turning eastward he crossed the Gulf, passing Tiburon Island, and then advanced slowly along the east coast of the Gulf until he arrived at its headwaters, where the tidal bore of the Colorado River filled him with awe and the caustic waters of the red springs near its mouth blistered his men. After four months of such perilous travel, the bold padre cast anchor again off Loreto.

At the same time that Ugarte was exploring the Gulf of California, Captain George Shevlock of England was cruising about California waters engaged in a little privateering enterprise. On his return to England Shevlock set forth on his charts that California was an island. This assertion was not

surprising, for at this time a controversy was raging between certain of the episcopal authorities on the Spanish Main as to which bishopric *las Islas Californias* belonged! Guadalajara was finally awarded the "island." Captain Shevlock, by the way, was not the last of his nation to construct an island of California. No less a navigator than the noted Lord Anson, after sailing close by Cape San Lucas in the year 1742, referred to the coast in his log, published in 1748, as the "Island of California."

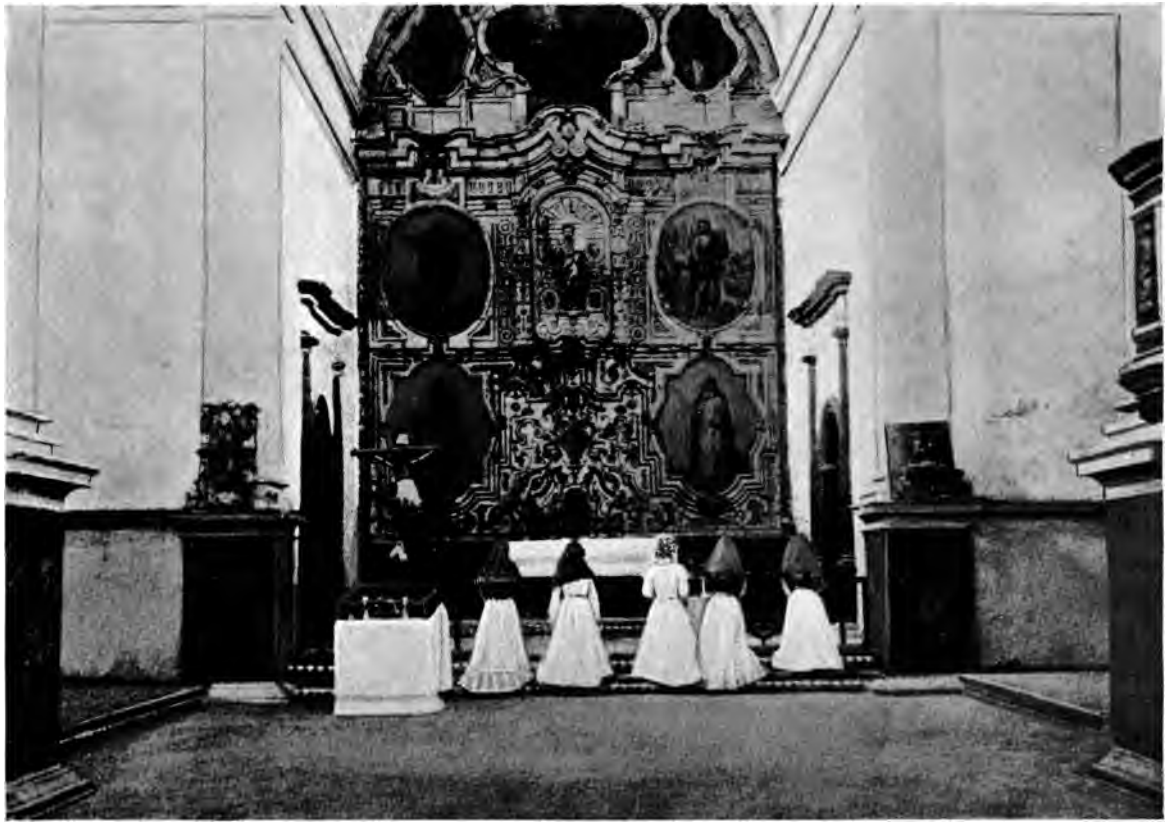
While Ugarte and Shevlock were thus occupied, the padres reached out extensively, establishing three missions and immediately thereafter a fourth, all of which, however, were fated to be short-lived. First, Padre Jaime Bravo (Padres Ugarte and Guillen had a hand in this, too) established the Mission of El Pilar de la Paz at a point near the Bay of Santa Cruz, or La Paz, and immediately southwest of the site of the present city of La Paz, and in latitude 24°, 10' north, longitude 110°, 20' west. Then Padre Everhard Helen established the Mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe in the mountains ten leagues west of the Mission of Santa Maria de Magdalena and fifteen leagues northwest of Mulege; and finally the Mission of San Juan Bautista de Malibat, or *Liguig*, heretofore mentioned, and sharing in its early history the uncertainty of the records of the time, was transferred southward where it became known as Dolores del Sur. The fourth establishment, the Mission of Santiago, was founded in 1723 by Padre Ignacio María Napoli, in latitude 23°, 27' north, longitude 109°, 40' west, or some twenty-five leagues south of La Paz and five leagues from the Gulf. Within a few years the padre in charge of Santiago was murdered by the Indians, thus meeting the fate that the members of his Society seemed always to welcome.

Though no apparent scheme, geographical or otherwise, is developed by the order in which these successive foundations were established, the general topography of the country is such that the selection of mission sites was evidently governed largely by the question of water supply. Where there was an abundance of perennial water, there was a missionary field; for Indians lived and crops would grow wherever there was water. The Spanish government desired some few missions located in places where they might render assistance to the Manila galleons when they touched; and that government was also in accord with Salvatierra's scheme for a chain of missions reaching far northward. But the presence of water was, of necessity, always a prime consideration.

In the year 1728 a mission was founded by Padre Juan Bautista Loyando in a wide arroyo twenty leagues above Guadalupe Mission and about twenty leagues inland from the Gulf. This mission received the name of San Ignacio de Kadakaman; it was situated, geographically, in latitude 27°, 22' north, longitude 113°, 3' west, and was destined for good fortune as extreme as the ill fate of the preceding four foundations. Its surroundings were not unlike those of Comondú, the arroyo making its way between high cliffs and through a rocky mesa country. A perennial stream of water meandering down the arroyo made simple the irrigation of the two thousand acres of fertile soil composing the floor of the valley. Soon the mission was surrounded by fields of sugar-cane, grain and clover; by fine vineyards and orchards of orange, lemon, olive, pomegranate and fig trees. Later, through the beneficence of a Spanish queen, a million and a half of *pesos* were forthcoming for the mission; and with this sum storehouses were erected, a parochial residence, quarters for soldiers and a beautiful church. Adjoining the church was a patio, one hun-

dred and fifty feet square, and about this were grouped the subsidiary buildings. A touch of the Moorish shows in the exterior architecture and decorations of these structures. The church itself was built substantially and with much elegance. Its walls were of hewn stone, four feet in thickness. The floor dimensions were one hundred and twenty-five feet by twenty-three, the height was sixty feet, the ceiling was vaulted and domed. The altar carvings were beautifully executed, and on the altar itself were gold, silver and jeweled ornaments while the walls were hung with oil paintings done by Italian masters. The rule had been established that the old should support the new, but San Ignacio required no such support. This independence came about largely through the shrewd foresight of Padre Loyando. Widely traveled and a man of independent means he was not one to overlook any possible advantage for his new mission. Consequently, upon the introduction of Arabian date-palms into California (which occurred shortly after 1730), he arranged that San Ignacio should receive her full share of the first assignments. As a result thereof, three varieties of date-palms soon reared high their green boughs in the Arroyo of San Ignacio, forming a rare addition to the gardens and orchards and providing abundantly for the inhabitants.

The Mission of Nuestra Señora de Dolores del Norte was established about this time as an adjunct to San Ignacio; it was said to have been located near the twenty-ninth parallel, but in the eighteenth century numbers were attached to parallels with reckless disregard of all exactitude. The twenty-ninth parallel, considering the barren and unexplored mountains intervening, was a long, long way from San Ignacio and the influence of the padres. This Mission of Dolores was very shortly abandoned. In 1849 a New York party of gold seekers,



INTERIOR OF THE CHURCH AT SAN IGNACIO
A mission to which a Spanish queen gave over a million *pesos*

traveling through the interior of the Peninsula *en route* for the gold diggings above Sacramento, spent a night at the Rancho of San Joaquin, two and a half leagues south of San Ignacio. One of their number kept a journal in which he made the following entry: "This (San Joaquin) is one of the old missions gone now entirely to ruin. It consists of two stone buildings, or rather part of the walls." To the north of and eighteen leagues distant from San Ignacio there are ruins of a *capilla,* known as San Pablo. Presumably, the Mission of Dolores del Norte occupied either the site referred to by the Forty-niner in his journal or that of San Pablo.

In the year 1730, Padre Nicholas Tamaral, founder of the Mission of Purísima, established a new mission named San José del Cabo, and situated within a short distance of Cape San Lucas and near the Gulf, its approximate location being latitude 23°, 3' north, longitude 109°, 40' west. Here there was an abundance of rich soil, plenty of water, a roadstead not far distant, and a climate that might reconcile one to exile from the rest of the world. The natives ruthlessly murdered Tamaral in 1734. The good padre met his fate bravely and with that equanimity which characterized the members of the Society of Jesus under torture whether in California or New France.

In the year 1730 Padre Sigismundo Taraval arrived in California under instructions from the provincial to write a history of the missions. He traveled westward from San Ignacio to the Pacific, a journey of thirty-five long leagues that taxes the grit of the explorer. By swinging slightly southward, a bit of steep, rugged climbing may be avoided and the water of San Angel may be found. Though brackish, it assuages the thirst of the first nine leagues. From San Angel the traveler enters upon endless plains of sand and grass, with some

cholla, and, if Fortune smiles, after twenty-four leagues he drinks from the water of Ojo de Liebre, heedless of the myriad red insects in the water. If he misses the scrub *alamo* (cotton-wood) that shades the water-hole, he can die consoled by the thought that many another has died in the same way on the Llanos de Ojo Liebre. Taraval doubtless found the water. There is a tradition that he found it by digging. Passing from the coast, he visited the Island of Natividad, Isle of Birds he called it, and Cedros Island.

The year following, Taraval established the Mission of Santa Rosa, in latitude 23°, 24' north, longitude 110°, 13' west, southwest of La Paz and near the Pacific Ocean. Four years later this mission and the Mission of El Pilar de la Paz were consolidated with and under the name of the Mission of Todos Santos. The structures in the missions of the thirties were in nowise imposing, and the missionaries themselves had a sad time of it with the Indians.

In the year 1719 Padre Guillen, accompanied by Captain Estevan Rodriguéz Lorenzo and a party of soldiers and native Californians, had traveled southwesterly from Loreto for twenty-five days. They passed first through a wilderness of steep mountains and immense arroyos and then entered upon vast plains covered with *cholla,* mesquit and other native growth, arriving finally at the superb Bay of Magdalena. De Ulloa, Cabrillo and Viscaino had long before visited this bay. The barren aspect of the country and the lack of fresh water were such as to compel the party to return hastily, notwithstanding the padre's desire for further exploration with a view to the foundation of a mission in the neighborhood. Finally, in about the year 1740, a mission, named San Luis Gonzaga, was established some seventeen leagues east of Magdalena Bay and thirty-five leagues northwest of La Paz, in latitude 24°, 50' north,

longitude 111°, 35' west. Padre Francisco Wagner was, presumably, the founder of the mission. The church was built of stone with a surface measurement (exterior) of ninety-three feet by forty-two feet, with two belfries and well-carved door lintels; above the door arch were cut the letters J. H. S.—for I. H. S., perhaps. Above these letters, stars and a cross were carved, and still higher a bell-shaped flower overshadowing two stars and a crescent. In general appearance the church was like the one at Purísima, though better and more substantially constructed. The rock strata of the surrounding country comes to the surface in the hollow of the hills where San Luis is situated and brings with it a fine pool of water. About it there is fertile land where vegetables and sugar-cane grow. For some reason, however, the padres moved from this mission to Todos Santos in the year 1769.

In the year 1746 Padre Fernando Consag, of the Missions of San Ignacio and Dolores del Norte, sailed northward from Loreto in charge of an exploring expedition. His first landing place would seem to have been what is now known as the Bay of Santa Rosalia, or perhaps Santa Lucia, immediately south thereof. Next, he noted the islands of *Sal Si Puedes* (Get-out-if-you-can), visited by Ugarte twenty-five years earlier. Continuing onward, he seems to have visited the Bay of Las Animas, near the twenty-ninth parallel, and still farther on he came to the great Bay of Los Angeles where he found many Indians enjoying the beautiful beach and living near a palm-shaded spring. Protecting this bay, and the more northerly one of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, there was a great island, rugged and mountainous, which he termed *Angél de la Guardia.* This island is over fifteen leagues in length and the channel between it and the coast was so full of whales that he called it *Canal de las Ballenas.* Along the shores of this strait

the explorers found valuable pearl oyster-beds, and passing through it they eventually arrived at the Bay of San Luis Gonzaga, into which flowed a small stream of brackish water. About this stream lived many Indians, one of whom, to Consag's amazement, had a dog. The warriors wore little and the women no clothing. Eventually the explorers visited the Bays of San Fermin and San Felipe and later entered the mouth of the Colorado River, from which they were driven back by the fierce tidal bores. After an absence of two months they returned to Loreto. The chart which Padre Consag prepared and submitted to the viceroy was the basis of all other charts and maps of the Gulf shores of California until the middle portion of the nineteenth century had passed.

Nineteen years after this venturesome trip Padre Winceslao Link journeyed overland up the Peninsula as far north as the thirtieth parallel. On these trips Consag and Link saw many mountain sheep, antelope, deer, lions—of which the Indians lived in mortal fear—wild cats and other species of game.

By the year 1765, the Jesuit padres had become familiar with the Sierra Giganta near Loreto. They had explored the Cacachilas, looming high to the south of La Paz Bay. In the Cacachila range the mining village of San Antonio Real had been established in 1748. They had advanced northward from San Ignacio, undeterred by the mighty volcanoes, the *Tres Virgenes*, and by the awful abyss in the lofty Sierras beyond, *El Infierno* as they fittingly named it. They had wandered over the western plains back from Magdalena Bay and Ojo de Liebre and had visited the sharp peaks of the Santa Clara mountains that lie between those plains. South from Loreto they had faced death in the guise of treacherous Indians, rattlesnakes, sidewinders, tarantulas, centipedes, and the hydrophobia-carrying skunks. On the western plains death threat-

ened them in the form of thirst. In their northern travels Consag and Link must have seen it lying in wait in the form of poisonous springs, snakes, warlike Indians, barren wastes and possible destruction of riding and pack animals by the poisonous weed—*La Yerba,*—and the venomous lizard-like creature—*El Animal.* But these bold travelers had kept on undeterred until they had noted and named the rugged mountain of San Juan de Dios, up against the thirtieth parallel, and had seen in the distance beyond a towering mountain mass, later to be termed San Pedro Mártir Sierra and to be known as the loftiest peak in Lower California. To them privations were personal offerings freely placed on the altar of the Cause. They considered themselves especially favored: Loreto was their western Rome, the Peninsula a second Italy, the Mar de Cortez the "Adriatic of the West." And climatically and topographically there was reason in their comparisons! Before each new danger they blessed their fate and thanked God that He had favored them with a field as new and as rare as that before the first Christians of Rome.

These years were prosperous times for California, and there was every incentive for exploration. The Pious Fund, rushing on apace from small beginnings in 1697-98, had grown like some stream of the mountains, continually enlarged by new accessions. There was questionable propriety in the death of a Catholic of means who neglected to remember the missions. The Marquis de Villapuente, possessor of broad estates in Tamaulipas on the east coast of Mexico, was at once the first and the most constant and generous of the contributors to the Fund. His gifts came by the tens of thousands of *pesos.* Certainly to the benevolent marquis must be accorded the high honor of being the earliest of the noble philanthropists whose names have been linked with the Californias. The

Pious Fund yielded a substantial income at this time, being well invested in large *haciendas* or plantations on the Spanish Main, which were managed with every care. About the making of one of these bequests there clings a quaint story which curiously connects an historic European name with California. A retired soldier from one of the northern presidios of the Peninsula—his name is forgotten—entered into the service of a noble family in Jativa, Spain. As he became acquainted with his mistress, a most devout lady of famous lineage, he related to her such tales concerning the natives of California that on her deathbed, in 1747, she bequeathed the sum of sixty-two thousand *pesos* for the good of the California missions. According to tradition, the noble testatrix left the *pesos* for the establishment of three missions, "one in each of the three most inaccessible retreats in the world," and "all three of such remote spots were found to be in California"! Certainly, even in the twentieth century, there are few more inaccessible retreats than the sites of San Borja, Calamyget and Santa Maria, the California missions founded through the good lady's munificence! With the founding of Santa Maria her name and rank will be disclosed.

In the year 1751, five years after his dangerous trip to the Colorado, Padre Consag established the Mission of Santa Gertrudis in latitude 28°, 3' north, longitude 113°, 5' west. This new mission was situated some twenty-nine leagues from San Ignacio and eleven from San Pablo; it lay to the north of these two foundations and was separated from San Ignacio by El Infierno. It is of interest to note that the buildings at Santa Gertrudis were planned by a talented blind native, Andrés Sestiago. An adobe church was erected at first, with a separate and distinct stone campanile; within a few years, however, a stone church was built. A great wall was erected a short

THE MISSION OF SAN BORJA

Founded in the eighteenth century through the munificence of one of the Borgias

distance below the church, which was situated upon a slight eminence, and below the wall stone sentry-boxes were placed. At Santa Gertrudis the mountains open forth into an amphitheater where a few square rods of well-watered land make a pleasing garden. Padre Retz, an industrious German Jesuit, planted grape-vines in this garden, after having enriched its soil with fine loam brought in from distant arroyos. Later, he made from the grapes of Santa Gertrudis such excellent wine that he ranks as the first California wine-maker. Close around the early vineyard rise the lofty sierras.

But no mountains seemed inaccessible to the padres. From the beginning of the eighteenth century their mission establishments had been extending out from Loreto like a great vine, well-constructed roads representing its shoots. These highways, usually leading through rugged mountains and almost always through stony districts, were built with care and only by great labor; thousands of hands alone made possible their construction, and these, the hands of the Indians; Indians given one meal a day as their compensation, and—toward the end of the mission rule, at least—urged on by whips, twenty-five lashes being the penalty for lagging. The stones were removed and thrown up in a slight embankment at the sides, making a roadway from four to forty feet in width, the average being over fifteen feet. All of these roads led to Loreto. The main arteries were called *El Camino Real,* the Royal Highway.

In the year 1762, Padre Winceslao Link, a native of Bohemia and an intrepid explorer, founded the Mission of San Francisco de Borja in a broad arroyo, surrounded by forbidding mountains and lying thirty leagues northwest of Santa Gertrudis. The mission site was well known among the Indians; they had called it Adac. Numerous bright-eyed native chil-

dren crowded in among the curious throng of dusky savages assembled to observe the dedicatory services. A century later, one Don Ramon Navarro, a government commissioner, visited San Borja. In an official report of his trip mention is made of two native residents of the mission, Melchor and Teresa, survivors of the audience that witnessed the dedication of the mission. Four years later, under date of March 21, 1866, an American scientist, on passing San Borja, made this note in his journal: "Besides the younger of the population there is an old Indian named Melchor, who was said by Viosca in 1862 to be 108 years old. He is totally blind and deaf, and hobbles around the place, the sole remnant of the tribe subjugated by the missionaries." Poor old Cochieme Methuselah, how he must have missed Teresa!

The geographical location of San Borja was in latitude 28°, 52' north, longitude 113°, 53' west. Water was convenient and there was an excellent *agua caliente,* or hot spring, near by; olives, grapes, pomegranates, vegetables and alfalfa were grown readily, while the natives were early instructed in the art of weaving palm fiber. An adobe church, storehouse, parochial house and soldiers' quarters were erected, and in the course of time a stone church and extensive quarters were begun. Santa Gertrudis and San Borja were both situated in the midst of a most populous Indian country; they were also in a country of stones where, in addition to the more southerly varieties of cacti, flourished the *Palo Adan,* a shrub useful for its cleansing properties, the *ocotilla,* its leafless, spiked branches reaching upward like so many fish-poles, and the *milapa* or *cirio,* a most strange cactus, growing upward to a height of sixty or seventy feet without a branch, of commensurate girth and with an aspenlike bark. At San Borja the Peninsula is a scant twelve leagues in width, and taking a course northeast from the mis-

sion the padres builded a road to the Bay of Los Angeles of the Gulf.

In the year 1766 Padres Victoriano Arnes and Juan José Diaz founded the Mission of Calamyget, situated on the edge of an arroyo of that name and in latitude 29°, 25' north, longitude 114°, 15' west. This establishment was four leagues west of the Bay of San Luis Gonzaga and twenty-six leagues northwest of the Mission of San Borja. An adobe church and the usual accompanying buildings were erected, grain planted and irrigating ditches built; but the water, owing to the great amount of soda in it, withered the crops when half grown, the Indians, despite the presence of a garrison of ten soldiers, made constant trouble and Padre Diaz fell seriously ill. Finally, Diaz retired to the south and Arnes, pushing on farther north, abandoned the mission a short eighteen months after its establishment. Between the Missions of San Borja and Calamyget there is a high mountain from which the padres obtained timber for the woodwork about the doors and windows of the said establishments. The first water north of San Borja is Agua de Youbai, fifteen leagues distant; San Francisco, a mineral spring, is the next before Calamyget.

In the year 1767, Padre Victoriano Arnes established the Mission of Santa Maria in latitude 29°, 42' north, longitude 114°, 35' west, and being eighteen leagues northwest of Calamyget Mission. Santa Maria Mission was named after the benefactress of the Missions of Calamyget and San Borja, Maria, grand duchess of Borja, or Borgia, and kinswoman of the famous Cæsar Borgia. It was established on a bench in a deep cañon with almost inaccessible mountains rising on every side and with not over two acres of cultivable land in sight. A small spring furnished water; a few hundred Indians lived near by in nightly dread of the vicious lions. In a deep

arroyo beyond the mission, a forest of beautiful palms furnished a delightful resting-spot, but, since Padre Arnes with his Indian helpers erected an adobe church, a parochial house and irrigating ditches within the few months at his disposal, it is hardly probable that he found time to enjoy any rest in the winter of 1767-68. And in the spring of the latter year, without previous warning, the Society of Jesus was expelled from California!

A more ungrateful act cannot be imagined. The Spanish government had been unsuccessful in its efforts to colonize and develop the Peninsula and the Jesuits had undertaken the task, only at the especial request of the Spanish authorities. The latter, smitten with the Portuguese idea of expulsion, defended themselves on the grounds that the Jesuits were working solely for the advancement of their society and to the detriment of the government; that they were interfering with the pearl fisheries, etc. Without arguing the merits of the question, or taking up the unfortunate conduct of the society in other portions of the Spanish domain, it cannot be denied that the Spanish government injured the advancement of California as greatly by expelling the Society of Jesus therefrom as it did continental Spain by the expulsion of the Moors and Hebrews.

During their seventy years' sojourn in Lower California, the Jesuits had charted the east coast and explored the east and west coasts of the Peninsula and the islands adjacent thereto; they had explored the interior to the thirty-first parallel of north latitude in a manner that has never been excelled; they had brought about the institution of the Pious Fund; they had founded twenty-three—including the chapel of Jesus del Monte—mission establishments, of which fourteen had proven successful; they had erected structures of stone and beautified

SANTA MARIA

The most inaccessible of the missions and the last eighteenth century Jesuit establishment in Spanish America. Within ten years past a jar of treasure was found buried in the walls of this mission

them; they had formulated a system of mission life never thereafter surpassed; they had not only instructed the Indians in religious matters, but had taught them many of the useful arts; they had made a network of open trails, connecting the missions with each other and with Loreto; they had taken scientific and geographical notes concerning the country and prepared ethnological reports on the native races; they had cultivated and planted the arable lands and inaugurated a system of irrigation which, had they been given time for a more northerly advance, would have given Upper California a marvelous agricultural development early in the nineteenth century. Considering the abundance of level land, the water and the tens of thousands of Indians about them, the establishment by the Franciscans of twenty-one missions in Upper California during the fifty-four years preceding the passage of the Secularization Act, is no circumstance to the peninsular work of the Jesuits. Finally, the Jesuits of California were men of high education, many of them of gentle birth; of their labors on the Peninsula it has been said with truth that "remote as was the land and small the nation, there are few chapters in the history of the world on which the mind can turn with so sincere an admiration."

Promptly on the 8th of February, 1768, the padres of the Society of Jesus, to the number of sixteen—eight Germans, six Spaniards and two native Mexicans—"with tears in their eyes, turned away from the beloved shores of California," embarking at Loreto in a royal packet which carried them to the Spanish Main. Of their possessions they had been despoiled, each padre being allowed only his habit, his breviary, and one book of theology and one of science.

At this time, according to the chronicler Clavijero, there was an Indian population, scattered throughout the various

missions, aggregating seven thousand, of which one thousand were at Santa Gertrudis and fifteen hundred at San Borja; measles, an epidemic of smallpox and the tainting diseases of civilization, had mowed down the hordes of Indians found by the first explorers. Allowing eighteen thousand as the number of Indians near the mouth of the Colorado and in the country from Santa Maria Mission to Todos Santos Bay, a conservative estimate, Lower California at this time had a population of twenty-five thousand. It was a ripe estate for the right overseer.

III

THE SAN FERNANDINES AND THE DOMINICANS

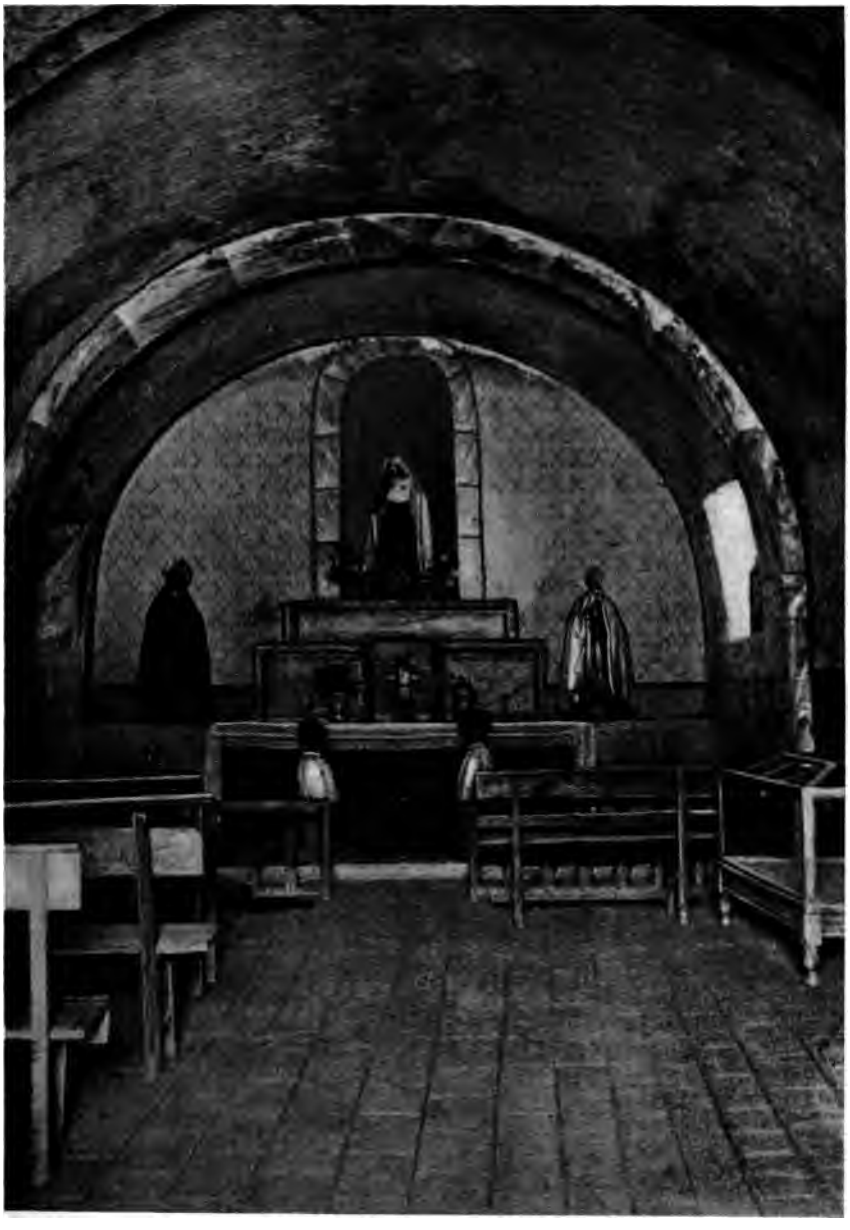
In April, 1768, two months after the departure of the sixteen Jesuits, thirteen padres of the Franciscan Brotherhood from the College of San Fernando on the Main, under the leadership of Padre Junipero Serra, landed at Loreto and assumed the charge of the California missions. This Padre Serra was a little man with a wizened face and burning bright eyes, but his piety and indomitable energy were to win for him lasting fame in Upper California. The members of his brotherhood had already been extremely successful in missionary labors in Mexico where they had made marked advance by reason of their shrewdness and their methodical attention to details. Indeed, from the fact that four of their number had landed with Viscaino at the port of La Paz in 1596, the Franciscans justly claimed to have been the first religious order to enter California. Despite their various qualifications, however, they were possessed of neither the daring nor the high education of the California Jesuits.

In the summer following the arrival of Padre Serra, Don José de Galvez, the visitador-general, came to the Peninsula and made a tour of investigation of its missions. After rendering encouragement to the mining village of San Antonio Real, situated just off Ventana Bay, and establishing the Curacy of San Antonio in the village, Don José began to worry over the scarcity of women in the Indian tribes. Next, with the consent

of the San Fernandines, he issued an *instrucción* relative to the colonization of California, wherein provision was made for the creation of congregations and pueblos.

Meantime, Padre Serra had sent forth his associates for distribution among the different missions; they did not take kindly to the country. One look at the Mission of Santa Maria, or, more probably, one venture up the rocky trail approaching thereto, seems to have satisfied the newcomers who were sent to the extreme north; they immediately hurried on. After reaching a point in latitude 30° north, longitude 115°, 5' west, and some twenty leagues northwest from the last establishment of the Jesuits, they made camp and erected a few adobes in a fertile and well-watered valley surrounded by mountains where the copper sticks out on the surface. In the spring of 1769, Galvez and Padre Serra started northward from Loreto. Upon arriving at the new settlement above Santa Maria they promptly established a mission which they named San Fernando de Velicatá. Within a year's time five hundred and thirty Indian converts were to be gathered about it. After concluding the dedicatory ceremonies — they were held on the 14th of May, 1769 — Serra and a small party hastened toward San Diego where the brave Franciscan founded, two months later, the first Alta California Mission. Padre Serra completed this northern journey while physically injured and suffering from the most severe pain.

The padres were already dissatisfied, and their great leader, seeing wonderful possibilities in the new country above San Diego, and being influenced by pestilence, feuds and the demands of the Dominican Brotherhood for a foothold in California, shortly agreed to surrender to the latter the peninsular district of California. In return he secured, for his order, the exclusive control of so much of the Californias as lay north of



STONE CHURCH AT THE CURACY OF SAN ANTONIO REAL
Established by Junipero Serra and Don José Galvez, under the auspices of the San Fernandines

an imaginary line drawn fifteen Spanish leagues south of San Diego. This division line was approximately coincident with latitude 32°, 15' north; it was determined upon in the year 1772. Pursuant to this agreement the Franciscans departed from the Peninsula in the summer of 1773 and were succeeded by the Dominicans.

The former had been such a short time on the Peninsula that they left no imprint of their presence there, save the Mission of San Fernando and two later missions near the Colorado River. Now nearly seventy years earlier the old padres, Salvatierra and Kino, had journeyed northward through Sonora together, and standing on a high peak (doubtless in the Superstition Range), looked across the Colorado River; perhaps they planned then that the chain of missions in Sonora should at some future time be connected with the missions in California. At any rate the San Fernandines eventually conceived such a plan, and accordingly, in the year 1780, established the Missions of Concepción and of San Pedro and San Pablo, some three leagues apart and on the west bank of the Colorado River, a short distance from its junction with the Gila. Two years later, however, the Indians massacred all the soldiers and padres at these two missions.

By the surrender of the Peninsula to the Dominicans the Franciscans gave a foothold in California to the most ancient of the Roman Catholic Mendicant Orders. Founded by St. Dominic in the year 1170, this order had early acquired wide renown for the theological discussions and scientific researches of its members. In California missionary labor the Dominicans saw a great field for additional honors.

In the year 1774, and as soon as they were settled in the California missions, the new padres reached forward and established the Mission of El Rosario, near the Bay of Las Vir-

genes of the Pacific and fifteen leagues west of the Mission of San Fernando. This initial mission was established in latitude 30°, 3' north, longitude 115°, 45' west, and owed its foundation to a gift of one thousand dollars from the King of Spain. A large stream of water flowed near and there was agricultural and grazing land at hand; great numbers of Indians lived about the mission site.

The following year Padres Manuel Garcia and Miguel Hidalgo established the Mission of Santo Domingo in latitude 30°, 44' north, longitude 115°, 55' west, and being twenty-three leagues northwest of Rosario. At first the padres lived and said mass in the caves of a large red cliff facing the Arroyo of Santo Domingo, later they chose a site across the arroyo and about a mile northeast of their cliff home and erected the usual adobe buildings.

The Jesuits had had their differences with the "governors," but these were as nothing compared with the later difficulties of the San Fernandines and Dominicans with local officials. Gasper de Portolá, Felipe Barri, Felipe Neve, F. Xr. de Rivera y Moncada, Joaquin Canete and José Joaquin de Arilliga were the successive governors during the latter part of the eighteenth century, and with them the padres continually embroiled over petty matters.

In 1775, when Thomas Jefferson was drafting the Declaration of Independence and Napoleon Bonaparte was playing with wooden soldiers, the Spaniards and the padres began to refer to the country from Cape San Lucas to the line, immediately below San Diego Bay, as *California Antigua*, and to the region to the north thereof as *California Nueva*. These terms, however, were shortly superseded by the more modern names of *Baja California* and *Alta California*.

The child *Alta* was now in being, and close upon its birth

there came a time of vigorous life for the mother, *Baja California,* for the last quarter of the eighteenth century was destined to be the constructive period of the Dominican Brotherhood in Lower California. With restless energy these cowled padres roused the dormant life in the land and fearlessly shouldered their way forward. At the south they caused additions to be made to the stone structures erected by the Society of Jesus, and in the north they planted adobe foundations in every available mission site until no Indian was beyond the missionary influence.

With the Missions of Rosario and Santo Domingo fairly under way, the padres reached up the Pacific Coast, a few leagues above Todos Santos Bay, and at a spot some forty-five leagues northwest of Santo Domingo established, in the year 1778, the Mission of Descanso. Geographically, it lay in latitude 32°, 13' north, longitude 116°, 50' west.

Two years later Padres Miguel Hidalgo and Joaquin Valero founded the Mission of San Vicenti Ferrer in latitude 31°, 19' north, longitude 116°, 15' west. The mission was situated nineteen leagues northwest of Santo Domingo and occupied a commanding position overlooking an ell of the San Vicenti River. Irrigating ditches were straightway dug and broad fields cultivated. In a short time San Vicenti became a large establishment,—and had its consequent troubles, the first of which came, the year following its foundation, in the guise of a fierce assault from the Indians of the Colorado River and San Pedro Mártir Mountain; fortunately, a protecting fort had been erected immediately back of the church.

In the same year, 1781, another enemy, smallpox, fatal scourge of all California Indians, entered upon the Peninsula, and, heedless alike of grim fortresses and holy missions, carried off thousands of the natives.

In the year 1784 the padres established the Mission of San Miguel Fronteriza, situated immediately south of Descanso and in latitude 32°, 6' north, longitude 116°, 47' west. Near San Miguel there were warlike Indians and much good grazing land, two decided advantages for a mission.

Seven years later, and after much difficulty, the padres founded the Mission of Santo Tomás de Aquino, in latitude 31°, 34' north, longitude 116°, 29' west, and being eight leagues north of San Vicenti Mission. About Santo Tomás there was some excellent land, fine live-oak trees and good water, but the Indians were so numerous, hostile and treacherous, that they caused the mission site to be changed several times.

As a matter of fact, while the Dominicans were finding less cactus, more timber and, in many respects, better land in the northern portion of the Peninsula, they were also finding a more warlike and ferocious class of Indians in possession of the land.

In the spring of 1794, Padre Cayetano Pallas established the Mission of San Pedro Mártir de Verona in latitude 30°, 45' north, longitude 115°, 20' west. This mission was erected amidst Alpine grandeur on the upper edge of a meadow high up on San Pedro Mártir Mountain, a great hulk that rises to an altitude of over ten thousand feet above the sea level, has still the finest pine and oak timber and had, at that time, the most powerful Indians on the Peninsula. Link, of San Borja Mission, had partially explored the southeastern slopes of this sierra thirty years earlier. San Pedro Mártir Mission was located twelve leagues east of Santo Domingo, and its buildings and outworks were on a most extensive scale.

The following year a pestilence caused the closing of the Mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe ó Huasinapi, and

ROSARIO

Site of the first Dominican mission in California. Near here several of William Walker's American filibusters were garroted after their ammunition had run out

thereupon a new mission, named *El Mision Fronteriza de Guadalupe* (Guadalupe of the Frontiers), was established a few miles to the east of Descanso and in latitude 32°, 9' north, longitude 116°, 46' west. This mission was located in an immense, well-watered valley where grain and stock alike might flourish; it was but a short twenty-five leagues' journey to the south of Junipero Serra's Franciscan Mission off San Diego Bay.

During these last years of the eighteenth century, English and American voyagers, seeking seals, other fur-bearing animals, and whales, visited the Peninsula and made great profit thereby. It was at this time also that Captain George Vancouver came sailing down the coast from San Diego, but it does not appear that he anchored off the southern shores.

In the years 1794-5 Padre Valdellon and Sergeant Ruiz examined a prospective mission site called Santa Catarina and a neighboring site known as Portezuelo, both lying in the wilderness to the east of Todos Santos Bay and between the Mission of Santo Tomás and the mouth of the Colorado River. These explorations were continued by Alferez Bernal, soldiers and priests alike agreeing that it was expedient to open a way to the Colorado River and thus connect with the chain of missions in Sonora.

And now there comes to the front another great California explorer, this time the military ruler of the land, Governor Arilliga. In June, 1796, this venturesome soldier set forth from San Vicenti to explore these northern regions. In two trips he visited the Santa Catarina site, the Colorado River, the gulf port of San Felipe, the mountain Missions of San Pedro Mártir and Santo Domingo and, before the end of October, even journeyed from the mouth of the Colorado River to San Diego. Arilliga's journal is most amusing to read: "Traveled today";

"Two horses gave out today"; "Fought Gentiles (Indians) today"; "Little water today"; "Very hot today"; "Gave away cigarettes today"; etc., etc.; "Halted today and wrote diary." But in view of the fact that he covered a country which no man had explored before and which, even today, is so unknown that the boldest frontiersman falters before its mountains and deserts, one may allow the old warrior an occasional full day in which to write down these skimpy entries in his diary. Certainly his place as a California explorer is close to that enjoyed by Consag, Link, Tavarel and Ugarte. If he had only taken more complete notes! His trips resulted in several plans for presidios at San Felipe and at the mouth of the Colorado and in Sonora, but first and foremost he made a strong plea for the establishment of a mission at the Santa Catarina site as a base of supplies alike for the proposed presidios and the *camino* into Sonora.

Accordingly, in the year 1797, Padre José Llorente—a bold traveler, who had even been as far north as San Francisco in *Alta California*—and Padre Tomás Valdellon established the desired mission under the name of *Santa Catarina de los Yumas* (also known as *Santa Catarina Mártir*). The mission site was in the mountains some twenty leagues southwest of the mouth of the Colorado River, twenty leagues north of San Pedro Mártir Mission and fifty leagues northwest of San Fernando Mission, the last and only Lower California mission of the San Fernandines. It was situated in latitude 31°, 35' north, longitude 115°, 45' west, and was the last mission ever established in Lower California. It was surrounded by the fiercest Indians on the Peninsula.

The establishment of the Mission of Santa Catarina marks the close of what may well be termed the third period of Lower California history. It is a period remarkable for prog-

ress rather than for individual actors. The great Junipero Serra passes quickly across the stage, figuring as a man of physical endurance and a diplomat,—not as an explorer or a founder of many missions. His most historic act on the Peninsula was performed when he drew a line of division between the territory of the Dominicans and the Franciscans. He is the link between the two Californias. Galvez produced more plans than results. Padres Hidalgo, Valdellon and Llorente seem to have been the great mission builders of the Dominicans, while Arilliga stands alone by reason of his explorations.

The year of the establishment of Santa Catarina, 1797, also marked the close of a more extensive period; it was the centennial of the granting of the famous license empowering Salvatierra and his associates in the Society of Jesus to undertake the conversion of the Californians. Much had been accomplished during the century; the final balance was brilliant. Of the fourteen flourishing establishments delivered over by the Jesuits in 1768, twelve were still prosperous; to these the Franciscans had added one—two including the Curacy of San Antonio—and the Dominicans nine. With twenty-three substantial establishments and a productive Pious Fund, the peninsular mission chain was now complete. As a matter of fact the missions had attained the flood tide of prosperity; the ebb flow of the tide was at hand. But that was not apparent! The Dominicans had taken up the work of the Jesuits with fine energy; they had added to old establishments and made new ones; they had extended the trails and highways; they had passed beyond the sterile section about Calamyget and Santa Maria and entered into the promising grazing country to the north; but, alas! they were about to prove themselves unequal to the management of the great missionary system.

IV

THE END OF THE MISSION DAYS; AN ELUCIDATION OF THE "PERIOD OF NO HISTORY"

The eighteenth century was now dying. Its last years saw the Missions of Santa Catarina, San Pedro Mártir, San Vicenti and Santo Tomás again and again assaulted by the treacherous warriors from the sierras and the deserts. At the same time, and with even more vital consequences to the missionary system, the Dominicans not only lapsed from their zeal, but by rancorous disputes concerning the ownership of the valley of San Rafael, lying between San Vicenti and Santo Domingo, loosened the tongue of scandal. Their subsequent conduct gave it continued cause to riot. The padre at sacred Loreto was removed because of his unseemly life; in 1803 even the superior of the missions was exiled for misconduct. According to historic and traditional accounts, brutal conduct toward the Indians and overindulgence of the appetites were common failings that increased among the peninsular padres with the advancing years of the nineteenth century, making a shameful blot upon the fair record of the missionaries.

By piecing together the few writings of the padres themselves, the traditions of the missions and the journals of the voyagers to the ports, and considering with them the testimony of ruins and self-evident signs, one obtains, briefly, the following view of Lower California mission conditions in the first four decades of the nineteenth century,—years covered by no

continuous official records and, therefore, usually passed over by writers as a "period of no history." The padres allowed the mission establishments to run down, and made no effort to establish new foundations; they treated the Indians as slaves and with harshness and made no efforts to improve their conditions; they broke up the tribes and scattered their members; they sent forth the Indians to gather "gilt stones," as they termed gold and copper; they sunk shafts in the mountainsides and worked smelters in the mission grounds; their scientific studies, if any, were restricted to mineralogy and no record was kept of results; their theological discussions gave place to bickerings over mission boundaries and peevish plaints over diverted stipends; they lived unworthy lives; and they made and consumed overmuch *mescal* and wine.

On the other hand it must be remembered that, as an old Indian remarked extenuatingly to the writer, "even a padre is but a man." For men of some education, the last Dominicans were in unhappy positions indeed. They were not, like the Jesuits, fond of the country, neither were they natural frontiersmen, and yet, detached as they were from the world, each padre had unto himself an entire mission with no associates, save degraded and treacherous Indians, or a yet more debased garrison soldier; in these years, moreover, their ecclesiastical superiors grew heedless of their wants and deaf to their remonstrances while the higher civil authorities diverted the Pious Fund, thus depriving the missionaries of their rightful support; to crown all, the Indians daily threatened the lives of the padres. Nor were the threats of the savages idle; in 1803 the Indians murdered Padre Surroca at Santo Tomás and three years later the San Borja Indians revolted and assaulted their mission. "Even a padre is but a man," and it is hardly surprising that many of these Dominicans, placed in repellent

surroundings and among people lacking in moral fibre, sank to the level of their surroundings.

During this period Padres Vincent Balda, Rafael Ravina, Placida Sanz, Ramon Lopéz and Tomás Ahumada were among the successive superiors of the missions. The last named chose San José del Cabo as his abiding-place in place of Loreto. Under their supervision the *Gulfo Camino*, the *Sierra Camino* and the *Pacifico Camino*—the three *Caminos Reales* or Royal Highways—were doubtless completed. These trails—they rarely attained to the dignity of roads—reached up and down the length of the Peninsula; each one touched at Loreto and all ran in to San Diego in Upper California. Between these two missions a mounted mail-carrier passed monthly, carrying messages brought from the City of Mexico via Guadalajara and San Blas on the mainland and also such intermission correspondence as there was.

Fortunately, mission doings or misdoings do not furnish the exclusive history of this period. The general world was not at a standstill, and its waves rippled even upon the shores of Lower California. During these days Upper California had become a lusty child; for, strange though it seems, the San Fernandines, who quickly wearied of the labors in Lower California which the Dominicans readily accomplished there, did more excellent work in Upper California than their successors did in Lower California. In consequence of this growing strength of Upper California, Lower California was separated, politically, from the upper district by decree of March, 1804, Arilliga assuming control of the northern country and Captain Felipe de Goycoechea of Lower California.

About the same time Spain became involved in the Napoleonic wars on the continent and was unable to pay any attention to the far-away California Peninsula—except to forbid her

neglected people to trade with the outer world. The natural result of such an overstringent commercial regulation followed and smuggling flourished. After 1810 civil war smouldered and flamed on the Spanish Main, but no fighting occurred on the Peninsula: that neglected province merely slumbered, heedless of national struggles.

In the year 1814 Hernando de la Toba succeeded Goycoechea as governor; the following year José Dario Arguello succeeded De la Toba.

Meantime, the pueblos of Mulege, San Ignacio and Purísima had, at last, awakened to the revolution, while all of the missions began to suffer from its effect, for the Indians, not comprehending the fine points of politics, took to the mountains, leaving the fields of the padres to go untilled. In the year 1822, moreover, the corsairs *Independencia* and *Aranciano* sacked Loreto and plundered her altars of rare strings of pearls and rich ornaments. This desecration was but the beginning of the troubles of sacred Loreto, the ancient capital of the Californias and the missions, for soon earthquakes twisted awry her massive stone walls, storms swept over her, and then, in 1829, the seat of government of Lower California was changed from Loreto to La Paz, a pueblo which had grown up by Cortez's Bay of Santa Cruz. Alas, poor Loreto! For nigh a century and a half the queen city of the Californias, decked with pearls, adorned with paintings from the brushes of Murillo and Cabrera, honored by soldiers, scholars and rulers, alas, Loreto, sacred Loreto, how greatly hast thou suffered!

The Peninsula now began to learn of things political. José Arguello, her last colonial governor, resigned, and José Manuel Ruiz became *Jefe Político* or territorial commander.

Very shortly after these changes, Coronel José de Echeandia came to Loreto as civil and military commander of both

Californias. Through his orders, funds were raised for primary schools at Loreto and San Antonio, and the Peninsula was divided into four political districts, viz.: San Lucas, Loreto, Santa Gertrudis and San Pedro Mártir, each with an *ayuntamiento* or municipal council. However, such system deduced from chaos was too much good fortune for poor Lower California. Echeandia was called away and in his absence affairs became as confused as ever.

In 1829, the news reached Loreto of the promulgation of a decree expelling Spaniards from Mexican territory. As the padres—or *frailes* (frairs), usually written Frs., for such was the designation accorded the members of the Dominican Brotherhood in California—were practically all Spaniards, this decree aroused them instantly. Fr. Domingo Luna, provisional vicar, even went so far as to address Governor Echeandia concerning the legality of that portion of the decree which apparently required the California Dominicans to take oath of allegiance to the new Mexican government.

But a more serious problem than oaths of allegiance now faced the frairs, for on the 17th of August, 1833, the Mexican government enacted the Secularization Acts by which it was decreed that the government proceed to secularize the California missions; that in each mission a parish should be created with a secular salaried priest; that these priests be forbidden to collect fees for marriages, baptisms, burials or other services; that the mission churches be given to the parishes, etc.

The enactment of such legislation does not seem surprising. The whole spirit of Mexican independence was unfavorable to the continuance of the mission tenure which had lapsed into a land monopoly tinctured with phases of slavery. The friars claimed that the Indians were not yet prepared for citizenship,

TWO GREAT CALIFORNIA ADVENTURERS

William Walker, the Destroyer
From an engraving by Buttre

Fernando Cortez, the Discoverer
From an engraving by Holl

to which the government naturally replied that the mission system was not especially fitting them for the privilege. Moreover, the conduct of the friars had not been such as to win for them much consideration. Claims and denials were of no avail; secularization was a fact, and the downfall of the ancient mission system was near at hand.

Much that is interesting concerning Lower California may be discovered by peering into the logs kept by western travelers in these days gone by. In the year 1807, for instance, the Boston ship *Dromio* made a little smuggling voyage along the west coast of America, finally stopping at the Bay of Todos Santos where swarms of Indians hove in sight from the Mission of San Miguel, bringing with them bundles of otter skins. The *Dromio's* trip was so successful that other ships promptly followed in her wake.

And it was a rich contraband trade that was soon built up on the Pacific Coast. At the masts of fur traders and whalers the colors of England, America, France and Russia fluttered above the quiet waters of the numerous bays of Lower California, while on the glistening shores there gathered strange groups: dark-hued Indians, sombreroed Mexicans and robed frairs trafficking with mariners from every clime; and from the ships, boats were rowed shoreward laden with goods from distant ports, cargoes easily exchanged for furs, hides, beef, grain, fruit and oil. The Bay of San Quintin, then familiarly known as the "Bay of Five Hills," and Magdalena Bay were the favorite regions for these gatherings.

During these years more legitimate voyagers also visited the peninsular coast, men such as Captain A. Duhaut-Cilley Duflot de Mofras and Admiral Du Petit Thouars of France, Admiral Edward Belcher, Captain Henry Kellett and Lieutenant R. W. Hardy of England, and Captain Benjamin Morrell

of New York, the last doubtless something of a smuggler as well as a fur-hunter.

Lieutenant Hardy's voyage was made in 1826 at the instance of the "Pearl-diving and Coral-fishery Association," an English concern. Now, from the time of the visits of Xímenez and Cortez, the east coast of the Peninsula had been famed as the land of pearls. The marvelous good fortune of the *armador de perlas*, Manuel Osio, has been related. Others had sought to emulate him. The most magnificent pearls in the Spanish *regalia* at the time of Napoleon's invasion had been gathered from the California Coast. These facts, having become widely known, eventually brought about the formation of the association which sent forth Lieutenant Hardy. Pursuant to his instructions, he visited La Paz, Loreto, Mulege, Tiburon and the Sal Si Puedes Islands. He ascertained that the first three places named were the sailing ports of the pearl fleets, and that the diving was done by Yaqui Indians in the months of July, August and September. He found pearl-pits scattered up and down the coast from Ventana Bay to the thirty-first parallel. According to his report, the Mexican government was receiving five per cent of all the pearls, while the largest ones were regularly set aside for the Holy Virgin. Near Loreto, alone, he noted nine pearl-beds. From the upper gulf, Lieutenant Hardy sailed up the Colorado River where he definitely located a bayou entering the river a few leagues from its mouth and heading among certain mud volcanoes to the northwest. This bayou has since been known as the False or Hardy's Colorado, or the Hardy River.

These different voyagers from over the seas, the friars welcomed, but of overland visitors they lived in constant dread. As early as 1818 they had sent word, post haste, to Governor Arguello that information had come to them of the enlistment

of American filibusters in Texas and Mexico with the avowed object of capturing the Californias. This was a rumor without foundation, but if the worthy friars had listened attentively to far-away doings some seventeen years later, they might have gone into numerous frights concerning the dangerous northern heretic nation, for it is more than tradition that during the administration of President Andrew Jackson an effort was made by the United States to purchase a portion of the Californias. The historian Bancroft even says that Jackson's secretary of State, Forsythe, wrote to Butler, the United States *chargé d'affaires* at Mexico, to offer a sum, supposedly five million dollars, for the desired territory. While the archives at Washington are silent on this point, they are equally silent on many another executive plan that bore no fruit.

Finally, on the 12th of March, 1828, down upon the missions came the first of the dreaded heretics, seven emaciated and nearly starved Kentuckians, by name Sylvester Pattie, James O. Pattie, Pryor, Laughlin, Pope, Slover and Ferguson. They were the remnants of a large party of mounted trappers which, after most thrilling and romantic experiences, had dwindled down to this handful. Their horses stampeded by Indians when near the mouth of the Gila River, the trappers had floated down the Colorado on dugouts only to be swamped, when near the Gulf, by the same mighty tidal bore which had repulsed Admiral de Ulloa three centuries earlier.

Undismayed the trappers had wandered inland, nearly dying of thirst in the desert, presumably near the Laguna Salada beyond the Cocupas. At last they found a trail, presumably *El Camino del Agua Caliente*, which shortly led them to the Mission of Santa Catarina de los Yumas. From this mission they were sent to the Mission of "San Sebastian," undoubtedly San Vicenti, where they were placed under surveillance. Soon

they were sent along the line of missions to San Diego and to harsher treatment. In his journal James O. Pattie gives a dark picture of the treachery of the friar and soldiers; his brightest recollections are of a kindly Mexican sergeant and the latter's generous-hearted and beautiful sister. The civil authorities excused their conduct by saying that the Kentuckians had come into the Californias without requisite passports.

Fourteen years after Pattie's visit, M. Duflot de Mofras entered Lower California. He was a man of liberal education and for some years had served in the City of Mexico as an *attaché* of the French legation. He journeyed up the Peninsula by *El Camino Real* and was accorded a kindly reception; judging, however, from his most excellent map and his published report, entitled "*Exploration de L'Oregon, des Californies et de la Mer Vermeille,*" he was quite satisfied to stay close to the main highway. The interesting fact appears from his map—and doubtless followed upon the Pattie expedition—that in 1842 the trail of the Hudson Bay trappers, which passed through Sutter's Fort and thence down the eastern portion of Upper California, reached even to the Mission of Santa Catarina de los Yumas. In other words, at the doorway of the last mission founded in Lower California, *El Camino Real* of the padres met the hunting trail of the mighty fur-traders of the heretic North. M. de Mofras referred to Santa Catarina as being six days' travel from the mission at San Diego, and even in this generation one does not make the direct trip in less time. Of La Paz he wrote that it had a population of four hundred and that its site was first visited by Cortez on the 3d of May, 1535. His table of mission population in 1842, which here follows, is not without interest: Loreto, 200; San Xavier, 55; Mulege, 74; Comondú, 81; Magdalena, 35; Guadalupe, 240; San Ignacio, 19; San José

del Cabo, 320; Todos Santos, 260; San Antonio Real, 717; Santa Gertrudis, 53; San Borja, 71; San Fernando, 45; Rosario, 75; Santo Domingo, 159; San Vicenti, 261; Santo Tomás, 233; San Miguel, 430; Santa Catarina, 48. Total, 3,376.

But enough of these figures! To return, now, to the thread of the historical narrative. Upon the fall of the Mexican federal system, both Californias were united in a single department. Luis Negrete became *sub-jefe* for Lower California, and the extensive powers with which he was clothed he seemingly exercised wisely until the year 1842, at which time he was succeeded by military appointees. He advanced certain land reform measures and colonization schemes.

Meantime the Texas difficulties were bringing on hostilities between the two North American republics, and at length, in 1847, a company from Colonel Stevenson's noted regiment occupied the territory about Todos Santos Bay at the north while United States men-of-war landed two other companies of New York volunteers at La Paz under the command of Colonel H. S. Burton of the U. S. Army. Colonel Burton, in company with Captain Bailey of the U. S. Navy, at once hoisted the Stars and Stripes and issued a proclamation. The invaders were well received and the Señores Hidalgo of San Antonio, the only dissatisfied Californians, were promptly made prisoners. Shortly, Commander T. O. Selfridge, U. S. Navy, with the *Dale* arrived at La Paz and landed under fire.

Captain Pineda of the Mexican troops and the friar of San Ignacio now incited the natives to rise against the invaders, whereupon Commander Selfridge announced that the United States had not only taken possession of Lower California but would not relinquish that possession and that all were invited

to support the northern cause. There is ample evidence that in making this broad assurance, the American commander was acting in full accord with the federal scheme of territorial aggrandizement. In May, 1847, army headquarters in Mexico were visited by a commission from the United States duly authorized to terminate the war on terms including the withdrawal of troops and the payment by the northern republic of a war indemnity and the ceding of New Mexico and the Californias by Mexico. These terms are distinctly set forth in the Third Annual Message of President Polk, submitted December 7, 1847. Two entries in President Polk's private journal give even more conclusive evidence of the federal scheme. The first of these, dated September 7, 1847, reads:

> The distinct question submitted (in Cabinet meeting?) was, whether the amount which Mr. Trist had been authorized to pay for the cession of New Mexico and *the Californias* and the right of passage across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec should not be reduced, and whether we should not now demand more territory than we did.

The other entry, made two months later, is as follows:

> I remarked (to Mr. Buchanan) that I thought our policy had been settled upon some time since, but as the subject was now brought up as one that was still open, I would read what I had written on the subject, and I did so. My views, as then reduced to writing, were in substance that we would continue the prosecution of the war with an increased force, hold all the country we had conquered, or might conquer, and levy contributions upon the enemy to support the war, until a just peace had been obtained, that we must have indemnity in territory, and that, *as a part indemnity, the Californias* and New Mexico should *under no circumstances be restored to Mexico,* but that they should henceforth be considered a part of the United States and permanent territorial governments be established over them.

Proclamations made and assurances duly given, the *Dale* with her commander sailed away, leaving at San José del Cabo,

however, twenty-four marines under Lieutenant Heywood. Late in 1847 and early in the following year, sharp encounters occurred between the Mexican and invading forces at La Paz, San José del Cabo, San Antonio and Todos Santos. The principal contest, the Battle of San Vicenti, took place near San José del Cabo. Here, as he stood on the outworks, sword in hand, inspiring his men with his bravery, Midshipman McLeanahan of the U. S. Navy received a mortal wound; in fact, only timely assistance from Commodores Dupont and Shubrick of the American Navy saved the hard-pressed Gringo invaders from total destruction. Pineda, Mijares, Moreno, Mejia and Gonzales were the most resourceful of the California leaders, Gonzales proving himself to be a commander of unusual ability.

Meantime, and even prior to the Battle of San Vicenti, for news has ever traveled slowly on the Peninsula, the war had been abruptly terminated by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, signed February, 2, 1848. The publication of the terms of the treaty developed the amazing fact that the Californias had been torn asunder and the Peninsula restored to Mexico!

As an immediate consequence of this unexpected relinquishment of the hard-won southern territory, a large number of the most substantial and enlightened citizens of Lower California were compelled to seek the protection of the retiring American flag. At the commencement of the hostilities they had accepted the authority of the invaders on the express assurance that the northern republic intended to hold the country; now they found themselves about to be deprived of their new friends and openly threatened by their neighbors whom they had declined to assist in the war. So palpably unfair to these non-combatants was the action of the United States, that even the officers of the occupying forces indignantly charac-

terized the surrender of the Peninsula as a cruel wrong and a crying injustice. Finally, the northern government provided transportation for full three hundred of these sufferers, and they were carried with her troops to Upper California in the American men-of-war, the *Warren*, the *Southampton* and the *Ohio*. Later the government indemnified the three hundred.

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the discontinuance of the war had been bitterly opposed by many of the leaders throughout Mexico. *El Progresso*, the revolutionary organ, had declared that no peace, without a fifty-million-dollar indemnity, should be considered. Many traditions and stories have been handed down concerning the making of the treaty. For instance, he who will delve into Mexican archives or question the well-informed elderly Mexicans on the Peninsula may find interesting explanations concerning the curious quirk in the boundary line between the United States and Mexico after that line cuts away from its course at Nogales and ranges northwestward saving to Mexico the mouth of the Colorado River and the northern section of Sonora and Lower California. American writers have admitted that the treaty was negotiated on the part of the United States by a commissioner whose authority had expired, and that their boundary commissioners, appointed after the war, were "not in harmony." In Mexico one may learn that General Santa Ana, even when deposed from technical control, instructed the Mexican commissioners that by hook or by crook they were to save to Mexico the mouth of the Colorado and a land connection with Lower California, otherwise they were to break off all negotiations, and there would be more fighting, even though the enemy were in the ascendency. Old Mexicans will tell, with many a chuckle, how their commissioners obtained the desired end by having *mescal*-trained heads which enabled them to draft

treaties and survey charts and sierras at times when the American commissioners were unable to differentiate a parallel of latitude from a meridian of longitude.

Perhaps these stories are more than tradition. *Quien sabe!* The United States has not always been noted in diplomacy; and in the forties the southwest seemed of small value. Also, it may well be remembered that maps of the Californias were rare in those days and that the most complete then extant, one made by M. de Mofras in 1843, showed the Gila River joining the Colorado very near the mouth of the latter. Consequently, it may be assumed that the American peace commissioner, in making the division line between the two Californias run from the junction of these two rivers westward, expected to acquire more territory than was permissible after an accurate survey. Indeed, so lax had been the earlier surveys that the observations of the boundary commission even resulted in geographically moving the Peninsula a degree farther to the east than exhibited previously on the maps! The observations of this period furthermore found the length of the line between the Californias to be one hundred and forty-eight miles and the width of the Gulf to be sixty leagues at its entrance and from twenty-five to forty leagues in its general width.

The treaty had closed the war in 1848. The following year Mexico resumed control of Lower California, dividing it forthwith into two political districts, each with a legislature of seven members. The northern district stretched from Loreto to the line.

Meantime, the discovery of gold in Upper California had drained the Peninsula of many of its remaining residents and peopled again the ancient *caminos* with throngs of hurrying travelers. Many of the pioneer gold-seekers, bound for the northern El Dorado, reached the western side of the Isthmus of

Panama only to find no ship ready to bear them to San Francisco Bay. But to these hardy men no obstacle was unsurmountable. With dauntless spirits they chartered small coasting vessels and beat up the coast to San Blas or Mazatlan, whence they bore away across the Sea of Cortez to La Paz and there, hurriedly disembarking, they turned inland, following the paths of the padres northward along *El Camino Real.* Some of these argonauts evidently ruthlessly plundered the sheltering missions which dotted their way, many of them found unmarked graves on the uncharted deserts, all of them left a record for hardiness still fresh in the memory of the old Mexicans who refer to their route as the *camino* to the California Placers. Invariably these pioneers traveled from La Paz to Dolores del Sur, thence northwesterly to Jesus María, San Xavier, Comondú, Purísima, San José de Gracia, San Ignacio, Ojo de Liebre, San Andreas, Rosario and then up the line of coast missions. Again, not a few of these argonauts sailed from Panama for San Francisco in unseaworthy vessels that were compelled to seek refuge in Magdalena Bay or San Bartolomé Bay along the west coast of Lower California from whence the travelers, amidst frightful hardships, journeyed overland to San Ignacio with its wealth of north-bound *caminos.* Incidentally, cholera was brought over from the mainland in 1850 and further decimated the scanty population of the Peninsula.

The inhabitants remaining were now practically without ecclesiastical guidance, for the diversion of the famous Pious Fund and Secularization had ended the mission régime. In the year 1731, the Pious Fund amounted to $120,000; in the year 1735, the sum of $400,000 was added to the Fund; twelve years later the further sum of $120,000 was contributed, and in 1784 an additional $400,000 was received.

After the expulsion of the Society of Jesus, the King of

A SECTION OF NEGLECTED SIERRA CAMINO REAL

Spain acted as trustee of the Fund, rather an unworthy trustee, too, for in the year 1806 his fiscal agent in Mexico was permitted to appropriate for the crown the sum of $200,000. This was not repaid, nor was the regular income paid to the friars.

Upon the establishment of Mexican independence, a *junta* managed the Fund—for a time. In 1836, Mexico enacted a law looking toward the establishment of a bishopric for the two Californias. Later, and in 1840, the last president of the missions, Francisco Garcia Diego, was appointed to this office with a residence first at San Diego and subsequently at Santa Barbara. He did not even visit Lower California, which, since 1774, had been under the charge of the Bishop of Sonora. In 1842 Mexico repealed the decree of 1836 and resumed "charge" of the Pious Fund, the main substance thereof being then sold, according to M. De Mofras, for two million dollars.

In October, 1842, by a further decree, the properties of the Fund were incorporated into the national treasury, with the understanding, however, that an income of six per cent should be devoted to the purposes of the trust. After 1848 Mexico failed to pay any portion of the income to Upper California, or Lower California, either.

In the year 1850 Father Joseph S. Alemany was appointed to succeed Bishop Garcia; Lower California, however, as Mexican territory, was assumed again to be under the control of the Bishop of Sonora. In 1854 Father Tadeo Amat was appointed an Upper California bishop with residence at Los Angeles.

From 1843 to 1846 Friar Ignacio Ramiréz de Arrellanes was the superior of the Peninsula missions, but, being a sympathizer with the American troops, in 1848 he emigrated to Upper California. The last of the mission friars, Gonzales and

Mancilla, served at the Mission of Santo Domingo until 1855. In this year Bishop Escalante reached the Peninsula with three secular priests, and orders were at once issued that unsold mission lands be subject to the support of the new arrivals.

While Lower California mission life, therefore, ends with the year 1855, there was yet one mission of which tradition has had more to say than any other California mission, unless it be Loreto; for what the pursuit of the end of the rainbow is to children, the search for the famous *Lost Mission* is to the residents of Lower California. According to tradition, the friars were told to "unroof the missions and depart," doubtless tradition's manner of referring to the Secularization Act or the arrival of Bishop Escalante. At the time of this instruction, the story goes that the friars had in course of construction a new mission, with jewels, treasures and sacred ornaments hidden in every crack and cranny. Toward the northern portion of the Peninsula, the name of Santa Ysabel is given to this foundation, while about San Ignacio and further south it received the name of Santa Clara. This mission the friars were supposed to have concealed, but it has been generously located in varied places: high mountain tops, bleak, mirage-haunted deserts, in deep arroyos and on islands. By some it is said to have been merely a landing-place, with the idea, perhaps, that the friars floated a mission on some quiet waters. No attempt will here be made to give the latitude or longitude of this much sought mission of fancy.

Close upon the arrival of the secular priests came an order establishing penal settlements at La Paz and Carmen Island for convicts from the northwestern States of the mainland.

And with these listed troubles it would seem as though "poor Lower California" had all that she could endure, but there is even more of disaster to record. The sharp succession

of *conquistadores,* buccaneers, padres, revolutionists, *contrabandistas,* invaders, pestilence and criminals was to find its climax in the coming of a force of dashing filibusters.

In 1852 Raousset de Boulbon, a French "soldier of fortune," entered Sonora, and the rumor quickly reached San Francisco that France was about to acquire the Mexican territory immediately adjoining the southwestern boundary of the United States. Such proceedings seemed, to the southern "Chivalry" of Upper California, a prospective national insult, a direct blow at the principle of "manifest destiny"; at once they began to plot for the frustration of M. de Boulbon. Eventually, these fire-eating San Franciscans developed a filibustering scheme of their own with William Walker, native of Nashville, Tennessee, resident of Marysville, California, editor and lawyer, physician and scholar, as leader.

In 1853, in company with one Henry P. Watkins, Walker—in later years to be known as "Nicaragua Walker" and as "The Grey-eyed Man of Destiny"—visited Guaymas and examined into the local conditions; he found the community threatened by the Indians and immediately became imbued with the idea that chivalry demanded that he come to the defense of the women and children of Sonora. Walker therefore returned to San Francisco where he opened a recruiting office and issued bonds of the prospective "Republic of Sonora and Lower California." M. de Boulbon meantime had faded from public view.

On the 30th of September, 1853, General Hitchcock, commander of the government forces stationed at San Francisco, seized the *Arrow,* a brig which Walker had chartered for his southern raid. For this proper interference with a breach of neutrality with a friendly power, Hitchcock was thereupon displaced. In the decade of the fifties, Jefferson Davis and the

southern senators were not to be flouted: and in William Walker's scheme they could see a new Texas and future slave votes in the Senate. October 16, 1853, therefore, Walker, with forty-six men and many supplies, was permitted to leave the Golden Gate in the brig *Caroline,* intent on filibustering.

In due time the *Caroline* arrived at La Paz where Walker landed his men, took the city, issued a proclamation promising general protection, recognizing religious toleration and establishing the Louisiana Code—a simple way of introducing slavery. A republic was immediately proclaimed with Walker as president, and a flag, with two stars representing Lower California and Sonora and with two red stripes enclosing a white one, was hoisted. At this time Walker was but twenty-nine years of age.

After winning a small battle and capturing the *Jefe Político* Robelledo, the filibusters, on the 6th of November, 1853, left La Paz, and after touching successively at San José del Cabo and Magdalena Bay, they disembarked at Todos Santos Bay, a hundred miles south of San Diego. Here Walker established himself in headquarters which he termed Fort McKibben, and easily defeated the attacking Mexicans. In December the *Anita,* southward bound from San Francisco, brought two hundred and thirty recruits to Fort McKibben. Thus reinforced, the filibusters seized Santo Tomás and fought the battles of La Grulla and San Vicenti, in both of which they were successful.

Walker now organized a government and drilled his men incessantly. At this some of his followers attempted to desert, and he ordered them shot; to the balance he gave the choice of returning to the United States or continuing on. Only fifty turned northward. On the 20th of March, 1854, Walker sent a portion of his forces to San Quintin Bay and Rosario under

instructions to hold the country; with the balance he started from San Vicenti for Sonora.

The eastward course of the filibusters has never been published, but there are yet living on the Peninsula survivors of the many Indians: Pais, Cahuillas, Catarina Yumas and Cocupas who accompanied the little troop as allies and guides, and deserted to the other side as soon as the commissary ran low, and, according to their statement, the filibusters traveled via the Colentura Arroyo, Valle Trinidad, Arroyo Grande and through the gap between the Sierra del Pinto and the Cocupas. In due time the Colorado River was crossed two leagues above its mouth, but after entering Sonora the Americans became disheartened and rapidly fell away from their leader, many of them traveling northward and surrendering at Yuma to Major Heinzleman of the United States Army. Thereupon Walker recrossed the Colorado and led his followers back to San Vicenti and thence northward to the line immediately south of San Diego. Melendréz, a Mexican officer, followed the filibusters, but his soldiers were too poorly trained and illy armed to be any match for the resourceful Walker who readily routed them even to the last.

At the line the filibusters surrendered to Major McKinstry of the United States Army. Walker, Watkins and "Secretary of State" Emory were tried in San Francisco. The former was acquitted, the Court openly expressing sympathy with the accused; the other two, being convicted of recruiting in San Francisco, were each fined $1500—and the fines allowed to go by default! The filibusters who were sent southward to "hold the country" were supreme while their ammunition lasted, then they died by the garrote and dagger.

Personally, Walker was a brilliant man of high education and strong southern impulses. In following his course on the

Peninsula, one learns that he was devoid of fear and that he held his men with an iron hand; but yet he allowed them to destroy records by using the archives at La Paz for rifle cartridges. In their accounts of Walker the old Mexicans and Indians invariably depict two men—the Walker in camp or on the march, a pale youth of dignified bearing, gentle with women and children, equitable in his dealings, fearless as a horseman; and the Walker under fire, a soldier valiant beyond words, a warrior flaming with Berserker rage. Guillermo Walker was a slight youth, they add in conclusion, but his men were of unusual height, and though they were frightfully longlegged, they never would run away when bullets or arrows were flying. A glance at Walker's military roster discloses scores of good Kentucky and Tennessee names, and since opposing the *invasión de Walker* cost Mexico eighty thousand *pesos*, the filibusters were evidently great fighters.

But, all in all, Uncle Sam has reason to be ashamed of his dealings with Lower California in 1848 and 1853-4. If he wanted the country he should have held it after assuring the Californians that he would, and spilling good blood in its conquest in 1848, and if he did not desire the Peninsula he should have prevented Walker from recruiting in and sailing from San Francisco.

By 1855 "poor Lower California," deserted by friars, cast aside by invaders, forsaken by filibusters, ravaged by pestilence, a public resort for criminals, had tasted the dregs of the cup of humiliation, while the child, Upper California, had cast aside her swaddling clothes and become the lodestar of the world, the Golden State of the great American Union.

As the year 1797 witnessed the climax of the great mission drama in Lower California, so the year 1855 marks the fall of the curtain upon the close of the last act. *Facilis descensus*

Averni, from the climacteric the descent had been practically unbroken, terminating only with the death of the mission system, a system which had raised the country to its greatest prosperity and now left it at the lowest ebb of its fortunes. Neglect would seem to be the chief characteristic of this final half-century of mission life: the civil authorities, engrossed with momentous concerns involving their very existence, had no time to consider the Peninsula lying beyond the Sea of Cortez; the religious authorities paid no attention to the missionaries; the missionaries grossly neglected their duties. The Cause and the neophytes were the ultimate sufferers.

Summed up, the events which affected the Peninsula during this period make a serious array: the Pious Fund was diverted, the missions secularized, and mission life itself came to an end; the Indians revolted frequently, and finally the more troublesome tribes were broken up and their members scattered among other tribes; buccaneers and smugglers galore swarmed about the ports; the capitol was removed from Loreto, and Lower California became, politically and commercially, subordinate to Upper California; the country itself passed under a succession of flags—Spain, Mexico, the United States, Mexico, the Walker Filibusters and Mexico, each in turn possessing it; sections of the coast line were explored in a desultory manner by navigators from England, France, Russia and the United States. Lieutenant Hardy discovered the river bearing his name; the Patties, first of Americans to enter the interior, carved themselves a place with Arilliga as the greatest explorers of the northern portion of the Peninsula; M. de Mofras journeyed along *El Camino Real;* Lower California was bereft of her child, Upper California passing into the hands of the United States; the gold seekers of '49-'50 rushed through the country, northward bound from Panama, and the boundary

commission surveyed the northern line. Of all these events two were indescribably pregnant for the Peninsula: national separation from Upper California and the death of the mission system.

In conclusion: the Spanish *conquistadores* had found naught in the land save its geographical position and its pearls; the padres, after fair progress in the development of the country, had allowed their establishments to become deserted; what cheer could there be in the prospect now before *pobre Baja California!*

V

THE AWAKENING

By 1856 the condition of Lower California was so unfortunate that the prospect was hopeful: there could be no more sinking for there could be no lower depths! In this year Sr. Don Francisco Ferrer, *comandante* of the Frontiers, made report that milk and herbs were the only source of subsistence for the inhabitants between Santo Tomás and the American line, that for them a few cooked beans once a month was counted a luxury and that not a single one of these benighted people could either read or write.

And yet, coincident with this poverty, strangers were finding fortunes within sight of the Peninsula shores, for whales and seals were plentiful off the coast and in the lagoons, and from whale and seal oil the New Bedford whalers alone gathered in during the fifties full quarter of a million dollars annually. Magdalena Bay was the center for "trying out" the blubber, while the ponds of San Quintin and Ojo de Liebre furnished all the salt required. For a time the whalers pursued the "California Grays," as the fighting whales frequenting the gulf about the Canal de Ballenas and Playa Los Angeles were called, but these warriors evidently got rather the best of the contest, for the whalers eventually left them to blow in peace. Black Warrior and Scammon's Lagoon were two of the inland waters especially frequented by the whalers. The latter of these lagoons was discovered about this time and named for Captain C. M. Scammon of the U. S. Revenue Service. In the decade

beginning with 1855, this officer made numerous surveys of the west coast of the Peninsula.

But if foreigners were taking away they were also bringing in money. As early as 1768 Don José Galvez, visitador-general, had taken steps to encourage the colonization of Lower California, and in 1824 the new Mexican government passed a colonization law and four years later adopted regulations concerning the same. Apparently, however, these efforts attracted no settlers save a few ex-soldiers. On the 12th of July, 1856, therefore, a new Colonization Act was put into effect and thereupon the Mexican house of Jecker, Torre and Company entered into a contract with the government by which said company was to survey and map the public lands of Lower California and make a scientific report thereon, receiving in return therefor one-third of all such public lands.

This contract was permitted to lapse, but not until it had resulted in the bringing forth of a report on the Peninsula by Lassepas. This work, the scholarly history written by Clavijero in the eighteenth century, and the Browne report hereinafter mentioned are almost the only reliable treatises on Lower California, though it is but simple justice to an indefatigable historian to state that there is a rare wealth of early Lower California historical data contained in the voluminous works of H. H. Bancroft. According to Lassepas there were, at the close of the eighteenth century, 10,126 Indians at the missions and in 1857 only 1,938—over 1,800 less than reported by M. de Mofras fifteen years earlier. In Lower California, as elsewhere, the effects of civilization seem to have been most disastrous for the Red Man.

Though this Mexican house failed to follow up the opportunities presented by its contract, San Francisco and German

capitalists quickly took advantage of the new colonization law by investing near San Antonio Real in mining properties and land development schemes for the advancement of which they put on a monthly steamer to make the run from San Francisco to San José del Cabo and La Paz. For some years before and after this, La Paz was the sole Lower California port of entry. Of the mines opened, but one, El Triumfo, proved a steady producer.

In 1863 one of these San Franciscans, J. L. Hopkins by name, began, at La Paz, the publication of a Lower California newspaper, entitled *El Mexicana.* Perhaps the consequent dissemination of news was responsible for the fact that in the same year speculators gathered a great number of altar ornaments and paintings from the missions and placed them on exhibition in San Francisco. Some of the paintings were said to have been the work of Murillo, Cabrera and Velasquez; few of them returned to the missions.

Now some of the American invaders of 1848 had returned to Lower California and made their homes there. Eventually, they sent out such favorable reports of the fertility of the soil and the mineral possibilities in the mountains that an American company, dominated by the spirit of "manifest destiny," was organized in San Francisco in 1864, and shortly obtained from the government of Juarez a grant of some 47,000 square miles—though, in fact, there is not that area within the metes and bounds of the grant—between latitude 24°, 29' north and 31° north. Unable to handle the colonization of such a vast tract, this company transferred its concession to a syndicate of prominent eastern capitalists, including such names as W. G. Fargo, John A. Logan, August Belmont, Ben Butler, Caleb Cushing, Ben Holladay and Leonard W. Jerome. This syndicate engaged Colonel William Denton of La Paz to survey

various portions of the Peninsula, and then, in 1866, sent forth the late J. Ross Browne to explore the grant.

Browne personally visited the region between Cape San Lucas and the 26th parallel; his two associates, Dr. F. Von Lühr of the Freiberg School of Mines and Professor Wm. M. Gabb of the California State Geological Survey, however, continued along the back-bone of the Peninsula to the Mission of San Fernando and thence on to Rosario and up the coast to San Diego. Mr. Browne later gathered together a collection of Lower California literature of high merit. Of the country which he saw, he reported:

> My impressions of the natural and intrinsic advantages of Lower California as a field for American Colonization are not favorable. * * * In short, the Chinese are the only people adapted by their peculiar habits of life, self-dependence, industry, and respect for the constituted authorities to colonize the Peninsula of Lower California without involving themselves or their government in trouble.

Professor Gabb, who, if for nothing but the careful and accurate journal which he kept during his trip, deserves to rank with the great Peninsula explorers, in his private report to the company, dated June 15, 1867, stated:

> To any person who has read the terms of the grant, made by the Mexican government to the Company, and has seen the country covered by the grant, but one conclusion can present itself — the grantees have been wofully deceived. * * * To send a party of colonists here, without previous preparation of the land at great expense, would be criminal. The result needs no prophet to foretell it. The history of the twenty-seven similar attempts made in Lower California tell only too plainly how it would result. Before a colony can be successfully planted, pioneers must be sent to dig wells, clear ground. * * * Not only this, but, on account of the bitter hatred of the Mexicans toward our own people, a man of administrative ability, strong will, and above all, intimate acquaintance with the Mexican character, must be placed at the head of the colony, with ample discretionary power, and well sustained by his employers in the collisions which will inevitably occur.

For a time these wise and well-considered reports deterred the concessionists; then, in 1870, they engaged Baron Philippe de Rougement, a noted French engineer, to map and survey the country about Magdalena Bay, and sent a large party of pioneers into the district to dig wells, build roads and clear the land. Four hundred and eighty-two settlers were said to have arrived by May, 1871. The outlook, however, was too desolate for them and they quickly departed, some to La Paz and others to Upper California. Meanwhile the Mexican government had annulled the grant, and federal officials from La Paz had pounced upon the colony and dispossessed its agent. These latter proceedings caused the U. S. S. *Saranac* to come to the rescue and furnished a pretext for a claim against the Mexican government which was finally compromised by allowing the company to gather *orchilla,* a parasite productive of dyes, on the grant for a period of six years.

This, though the largest, was by no means the only foreign colonization scheme of these times. Colonists went to San Quintin for salt, to the Colorado delta for hemp, to Mulege for sugar and to Guadalupe Island, off Vizcaino Bay, to raise goats.

Of these colonies, however, not one enjoyed continued prosperity.

Meantime, in 1870, the United States Government acquired a coaling station at the fine old pirate cove of Pichilingue Bay near La Paz, and in the years 1873 and 1875 her ships, the *Hassler* and the *Narragansett,* made a complete survey of the peninsular coast. In 1858 Lieutenant J. C. Ives of the United States Topographical Engineers had explored the Colorado upward from its mouth. Now, therefore, mapmakers could overlook the charts made by Padre Consag one hundred and thirty years earlier and turn to newer and more accurate ones.

Doubtless, if the shades of Cortez, Alarcon, Vizcaino and

the balance of the old Spanish rovers could have known that a quarter of a century later the quiet young commander of the *Narragansett* would take from their beloved Spain the Spice Islands for which they had so diligently searched, they would have lured his ship upon every hidden reef in the Gulf of California. And one can quite imagine the shades of Cavendish, Shevlock and the other old buccaneers who thrived on the Manila galleons, gathering in gossipy council about the historic Bays of San Bernarbe, Ventana and Pichilingue and wondering how a commander with such simple armament could ever hope to cope successfully with their old enemies, the dons. The young commander's name was George Dewey.

During these years, administrative affairs in Lower California were in dire confusion. Perhaps the off-hand statement that between 1835 and 1880 the country suffered from thirteen revolutions, foreign invasions not included, is calculated to make the reader gasp, but let it be remembered that in the sixty years following the Mexican Declaration of Independence in September, 1813, Mexico had over fifty rulers, including presidents, dictators and emperors! Late in the fifties there began at La Paz a long contest between legislative assemblies and the various local leaders, to suppress which it finally became necessary to send troops from the mainland. This trouble was followed by Maximilian's intervention, the excitement of which crossed the Gulf and disturbed "poor Lower California." Navarette, Pedrín and Gilbert warred with one another for local control: the first two, with several hundred followers, finally met in battle near San José del Cabo. At the end of the second day's contest two men were killed on one side, whereupon all contestants became alarmed and ran away, but Pedrín's forces were considered the victors; perhaps they ran with greater dignity! In the year 1877 Porfirio Diaz was elected

THE GREATEST MODERN FIGURES IN THE HISTORY OF LOWER CALIFORNIA

Diaz, the Rehabilitator

Dewey, the Coast Surveyor

president of Mexico and, except during the incumbency of General Manuel Gonzales from 1880 to 1884, he has served as the chief executive continuously since his first election.

To President Diaz it is customary to ascribe Mexico's recent growth and prosperity, and to him Lower California has every cause to be grateful. Were all other grounds of greatness of that most astute ruler of modern times forgotten, Lower California would still be heavily indebted to him for the establishment of the mounted gendarmes or *rurales*. These riders have driven from the Peninsula the lawless characters that infested its *caminos* and made it possible for a foreigner to travel alone from one end of the territory to the other and to cross its uncharted regions and yet be in no great danger from the avarice of desperate men.

Truly, while to Cortez belongs the honor of effecting the discovery of Lower California, to Salvatierra the glory of its greatest development, to Commander (now Admiral) Dewey the credit of charting its hundreds of leagues of coast line, to President Diaz must be accorded the honor of making the Peninsula a law-abiding region. Cortez, Salvatierra, Dewey and Diaz,—these are the four constructive names in the history of the Mother of California.

During the revolutionary days, France was not the only foreign nation that looked with desirous eyes upon Mexico. "In 1859," for instance, as one authority has written, "during an insurrectionary movement in Mexico, the president, Juarez, was shut up in Vera Cruz by the Imperialist forces. President Buchanan then sent Mr. McClane as minister to Mexico to conclude a commercial treaty, and, with vague promises to Juarez of assistance and future support, to negotiate for the purchase of several provinces of Mexico, one of which was Lower California. * * * The negotiations were soon confined to Lower

California alone, * * * Juarez finally refused to sell, and the scheme of purchase was abandoned."

Rumor furthermore relates that in 1881 President Garfield, through Secretary Blaine, was sounding Mexico on her willingness to sell the Peninsula. The archives at Washington have nothing to say on this point, and Garfield and Blaine are both dead.

It is of record, however, that during 1880-1 American citizens were frequently in trouble on the Peninsula owing to the unsettled conditions of Mexico. The last revolution on the Peninsula, that led by General Marquéz, occurred in 1880. In 1881 it is also of record that J. C. Fremont, territorial governor of Arizona, suggested to his government that the United States join with Mexico and make of Lower California an asylum for the warlike Apache Indians.

It is reasonable to suppose that Mexico watched with somewhat dubious eyes the American nation calmly acquiring a coaling station at Pichilingue, American vessels surveying the peninsular coast and American papers prophesying the early acquisition of Lower California. There are those on the Peninsula who say that she observed these things and quietly interposed a buffer by suggesting to the French Rothschilds that there was a nice little spot in Lower California for French capital. Anyway, in 1885 a French company took over the interests of Moeller & Co., of Guaymas, in certain copper properties at Santa Rosalia on the west shore of the Gulf and at the same time obtained liberal concessional rights covering twenty thousand hectares, or over fifty thousand acres of land. This shortly became the most successful concession on the Peninsula.

In the year 1875 Mexico had passed a further colonization act, and during the eighties two immense land concessions

were granted to American companies. The first of these concessions was made in 1884 to Flores, Hale & Co. Eleven years later the grant was ratified, and in 1904 it was transferred to "The Chartered Company of Lower California," a Boston and New York syndicate. This concession extends along the Pacific Coast, the lands of the unfortunate Magdalena Bay colonists included, from about latitude 23°, 30' north, to 29° north, and reaches inland six Mexican leagues. It covers the territory in the grant explored by the Browne party, and includes over four million acres.

Now, after the institution of the Mexican Republic, that portion of Lower California lying north of the Missions of San Fernando and Rosario was governed immediately by a *Sub-Jefe Político,* acting under the *Jefe Político* at La Paz. This district in time came to be known as *La Frontera* (The Frontier). The seat of its government was, at various times, located at Santo Tomás, San Vicenti, Real de Castillo and Saucal; and within its bounds courts were duly established. Upon the 14th of December, 1887, however, the Mexican government divided Lower California into two distinct political districts, the 28th parallel north latitude being the dividing line. La Frontera was at once merged into the northern district, which was named *Distrito Norte;* the southern district received the designation of *Distrito Sur.* Ensenada, on Todos Santos Bay, became the capital of the northern district and La Paz of the southern district.

The second of the two great territorial concessions was granted in 1884 to one Louis Hüller. Hüller shortly sold out to the International Company of Mexico, a Connecticut corporation with a twenty-million-dollar capitalization. The transfer was ratified on the 2d of June, 1886. This grant included some fifteen million acres and constituted the governmental or major portion of what the following year became the *Distrito*

Norte. Private holdings were excepted from it; so, also, were the lands of the Tecate Colony, granted under the Colonization Acts of 1861 and 1874.

In return for these concessions the Mexican government expected surveys, colonization and cash payments within a given time. *Expected* is used advisedly. In 1885 a federal commissioner had been appointed to revalidate, in favor of the national government, all Lower California lands of which the holders had not complied with the legal provisions governing the grants. This commissioner's revalidations marked the third time that land concessions in Lower California had reverted to the government by failure of full performance on the part of grantees.

At once the promoters of the International Company, men of considerable ability, carried the land "boom" from Upper California over the Line. Early in 1887 a steamer began making the run from San Diego to Ensenada, explorers were sent forth, mines located and the country widely advertised as the "perfect land." Ensenada, beautifully located, soon became a thriving little capital, towns sprang up at Alamo and down the coast at Colnett and San Quintin Bays, mills were erected, roads constructed and railway surveys made. Nature herself seemed on the side of the company, for rain, an uncertain element in the region, fell abundantly and as needed. Moreover, wide additional advertisement was shortly achieved for the colony by an abortive filibustering venture planned with the avowed intent of making a new State for the Northern Union. As the project won merited and immediate disfavor in the United States, however, the greater number of the cartridges and cases of repeating rifles which had been smuggled over the Line were buried in the sand near San Quintin. Doubtless, the accursed fleas of that flea-infested locality have made off

with arms and ammunition ere this, for such superlatively hungry and vicious, insects would make even a rifle barrel squirm in agonized torment.

Finally, in 1891 the Mexican Land and Colonization Company, Limited, an English syndicate, bought out the International Company and succeeded to its rights. Almost immediately, the Lower California Development Company, an English company, subsidiary and closely related to the purchasing syndicate, took over the coast section about Ensenada. And now the usual ill fate of "poor Lower California" reasserted itself. The "hard times" of the nineties seized the western world in their grip, and before they relaxed there came a period of six years of drought which carried off the stock of the colonists and made their fields like cement. Twenty years after the granting of the concession not a dozen families of the hundreds of settlers who had flocked into the district were to be found on their Lower California homesteads. Added to its other troubles the company ultimately experienced a rapid change of managers, a post difficult to fill and in filling which the Lower California colonization companies have generally forgotten Professor Gabb's wise advice of 1867.

The Lower California Development Company is not alone in its difficulties. In the last years of the nineteenth century, an aggressive American company undertook the development of the desert country lying to the west of Yuma and on both sides of the Line. The Colorado River was tapped, an extensive system of irrigation laid out, settlers flocked in and the fertile soil of the Colorado Desert at once gave forth splendid crops to reward the laborers. Meanwhile, with the opening of a new century, an allied Mexican corporation was established which shortly acquired one hundred thousand acres west of the Colorado and immediately south of the Line. This corporation

secured from the Mexican government, in 1904, a concession granting the right to divert water from the Colorado. But in the winter of 1904-5 the great stream began to grumble. No one had consulted its wishes! Suddenly it overflowed the petty human-made ditches; it filled the dry bed of the New River; it turned parched arroyos into wild torrents. Finally, with the coming of its great freshet, the mighty river that had hurled back De Ulloa and Ugarte, that had thwarted Hardy and the Patties, tore away from its ancient course and entered into the irrigating canals, filled brimming full the dry courses of the New River and the Alamo, ripped up the fields of the settlers, crushed the poor little Mexican village of Mexicali and threw its swirling, rushing waters north of the Line into the dry, sunken bed of the prehistoric Salton Sea, leaving but a sluggish, shallow stream to meander down to the Gulf. Before this uncurbed, devastating flood the resistance of the development company was as a mere wisp of straw; to its aid, however, there came a fellow corporate sufferer, the Southern Pacific Company, sturdily assuming, with railroad millions, the serious task of restraining the giant. By November, 1906, success seemed in sight. Then the Gila River suddenly joined the Colorado in a torrential flood that, in an instant, swept away earth and masonry. With the opening of 1907, the Colorado ran its wild course into the Salton Sea, heedless of the two corporations, reckless of the governments of Mexico and the United States, while the engineering problem of controlling the rebellious torrent became the Lower California question most keenly interesting to the scientific world.

Meanwhile, on the Mexican side of the Line five thousand fertile acres of irrigated Lower California lands were endangered, while to the north two hundred thousand acres of equally fertile and well-irrigated soil, with a population of nigh

ENSENADA, CAPITAL OF THE DISTRITO NORTE

fifteen thousand, with towns, schools, railroads, water-works and modern improvements, demanded prompt protection. It came. A great engineering feat was performed. The Colorado flows again to the Gulf. A railroad some thirty odd miles in length now runs on Lower California soil, connecting Calexico with Paradones, a small settlement on the west bank of the Colorado. The lands north of the Line have been made into a new county. Now the question is: Will the river break its bounds again, or is it shut snug within its banks? *Quien sabe!*

In connection with these river difficulties it is of record that in 1902 the Department of State of the United States was advised that a complaint had been received from Mexico concerning the diversion of water in the United States from the Colorado River, some six miles below Yuma. The matter was referred to the United States-Mexican Inter-Boundary Commission then in session. By this commission it was found that the diversion lowered the river merely two inches while the irrigation thus secured supported a colony of four thousand people.

The following quotation from one of the most eminent of American engineers bears directly on this interesting matter.

"The Colorado River," writes Mr. C. E. Grunsky, in a recent issue of the *Transactions of the American Society of Engineers*, "beginning at a point about eight miles below Yuma, where the boundary line between California and Lower California leaves the river, is the boundary between the United States and Mexico for a distance of about twenty miles. The position of this part of the international boundary is defined as the middle of the stream. The navigability of this part of the river was apparently recognized in the treaties of Mexico relating to the international boundary. According to the provisions of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848), neither country is to permit works throughout the portion of the river which is common

boundary which would interfere with the navigability of the river. The treaty of 1853 cancels this provision, but guarantees to the United States the free and uninterrupted passage of vessels and citizens so far as the river forms the common boundary between the two countries.

"There has been practically no commerce on the river below Yuma since the completion of the Southern Pacific Railroad in 1877; and there has been no expenditure by the War Department for its improvement. The result of a preliminary examination of the Colorado River from Yuma to the Mexican boundary line is reported as follows by General G. L. Gillespie, Chief of Engineers, under date of December 1, 1903:

"'In the opinion of Captain Jadwin, the Division Engineer, Lieut.-Col. D. P. Heap, Corps of Engineers, and the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors, which has reviewed this report, in pursuance of Sections 3 and 14 of the above mentioned act, the locality is not worthy of improvement by the United States.'

"Referring to the situation at the Lower Mexican Heading, Colonel W. H. Heuer, Engineer Corps, U. S. Army, under date of September 13, 1905, reported:

"'Under these circumstances it would seem that the costs of investigation, plans, estimates and work of closing or controlling the outlets, if such should be required, should be borne not by the War Department, but by others whose interests involved are incomparably greater.'"

So much for the recent doings or misdoings of the Colorado!

From the days of Don José Galvez colonization activities and mining development have advanced together in Lower California. The Peninsula mining excitements began in the eighteenth century at San Antonio Real where they bubbled up again a hundred years later and left one substantial mine,

El Triumfo, giving forth its quota of gold and silver. In the middle of the nineteenth century Mexicans found rich gold placers on the west slopes of San Pedro Mártir Sierra at Valladeras and Socorro, and fifty years later these mines were developed by American capital. In the seventies, gold was found at Real de Castillo, northeast of Ensenada. In the eighties, silver and gold were found at San Juan, near the Bay of Los Angeles of the Gulf, and a large mining plant was erected at San Juan and Los Flores; gold was found to the west of Santa Gertrudis Mission, and the mining camp of Calmalli sprang into existence, to the west of the Mission of Santa Catarina, and the mining pueblo of Alamo was soon the scene of wild excitement, to the north of the latter mission, and Juarez and Tres Piños came into being. In the Santa Clara Sierras southwest of San Ignacio, gold was discovered in 1900 and prospectors hurried to the scene. Meantime iron had been found near the old Missions of San Vicenti and San Fernando, copper and gold southwest of San Fernando and between the old Missions of Santa Maria and Calamyget, and onyx between San Fernando and Santa Maria. In 1905 semi-precious jewels were discovered in considerable quantities near Tres Piños.

During these years the Peninsula government moved soberly on. From 1822 to 1869 there had been fifty-eight *Jefes Políticos* in the land, the first of whom was Don Hernando de la Toba and the last Don Pablo María Castro. From 1869 this office was successively filled by General Bibiano Dávalos, Coronel Máximo Velasco, Coronel Patricio Avalos, Coronel Andrés L. Tapia, General Tiburcio Montiel, General José María Rangel, General Bonifacio Topete, Coronel Rafael García Martinez, Coronel Abraham Arróniz and Coronel Agustín Sanginés. The last of these served in the *Distrito Sur.* In the northern district, Coronel Celsa Vega is the incumbent; General

Torres, now in Hermosillo, and Coronel Sanginés, now at La Paz, are among those who preceded him.

In general, these recent territorial chiefs have governed the Peninsula wisely. Under their administrations schools have been established in the pueblos, practically all the seaport towns have been made ports of entry, courts of the first instance have been established at La Paz, Mulege and Ensenada, and a *juez* or justice has been appointed in every community.

Since 1855, however, the church that, for so long, made Lower California history has played but a minor part. And yet the old mission system was destined again to come before the eyes of the world though in a strange setting. In the fifties and sixties Bishops Almeny and Amat of Upper California, entirely undiscouraged by the report of a California Legislative Committee, in 1851, that the substance of the fund was not to be found, pressed the Pious Fund question so vigorously that in 1868 a mixed committee was appointed by the United States and Mexico to consider the claims of these bishops. The American commissioner promptly found in their favor, the Mexican with equal readiness rejected their claims. Thereupon Sir Edward Thornton, the British umpire, took up the case and found against the Mexican government and in favor of the claimants for the sum of $900,000.99, or twenty-three years' interest at six per cent on one-half the Pious Fund, the other half being held to be a fund solely for Lower California. This was in 1875. Mexico did not see fit to settle the award until 1890.

In 1891 and thereafter, successive secretaries of state of the United States made claim upon Mexico for interest on half the Pious Fund from 1869. In consequence of these claims a protocol was entered into with Mexico in 1902 providing for reference of the case to a tribunal to be chosen in conformity

with the provisions of The Hague Peace Convention. By this time Bishop George Montgomery stood in the place of Bishop Amat and Bishop P. W. Reardon in place of Bishop Almeny.

Pursuant to the protocol, a court composed of Professor F. De Martens of Russia, Right Hon. Sir Edward Fry of England, Professor H. Matzen of Denmark, T. M. Asser and Jonkheer A. F. de Savorian of Holland met in the Peace Palace at The Hague on the 15th day of September, 1902, to consider the title of the Pious Fund for which Padre Salvatierra had collected the first *pesos* long before the contending parties were born into the family of nations. What irony of fate! That the very title to the ancient Roman Catholic trust fund, established by Jesuits on the Spanish Main, should be called for trial at last on the soil which the sword of Alva drenched with Protestant blood! Throughout the legal proceedings Jackson H. Ralston was the agent of the United States and Señor Don Emilio Pardo of Mexico. Among the many noted advocates acting as special counsel was a native of the younger California, Garrett W. McEnerney of San Francisco. Lower California was not specially represented.

On the 14th of October, 1902, the tribunal rendered its decision decreeing that Mexico pay to the United States, in settlement of unpaid interest to that date, the sum of $1,420,682.67, and that thereafter Mexico pay, annually, to the United States, on the 2d of February, the further sum of $43,050.99 as Upper California's share of the income of the Pious Fund. The payments were ordered made in Mexican money.

From the mouths of the brilliant advocates flowed the early history of the missions of the Mother of California, a period of her great honor, but from these august proceedings it was Upper California that came forth enriched; "poor Lower California" was no better off than before — though since that time

there have been nine volunteer Italian secular priests on the Peninsula, sent there by His Holiness the Pope. Strange, indeed, is the thought that the Peninsula, for the good of whose people the Pious Fund was established, should be receiving none of the riches of that Fund! What regal splendor might not its ancient missions again assume were even a half of the income devoted to them!

Gradually, grudgingly, the world, however, is again recognizing some possibilities in Lower California. In the decade and a half last past, those modern pathfinders, the scientists, have turned their attention toward the strange botanical and zoological life of the rugged land. As a basis of comparative study, therefore, the pioneer scientific notes of the mission builders now take on an added interest. In the forepart of the eighteenth century Padre Sigismundo Taraval, the first of these early writers, visited California under instructions to gather material for publication, and much of his data was drawn upon later by the Jesuit historian Venegas. During this same mission period the Jesuit explorers Consag and Link kept interesting journals depicting conditions as they found them in their travels, while Padre Baegert, one of the expelled German Jesuits, wrote a quaint volume concerning what he had observed as a missionary at San Luis. In addition, certain French scientists, visiting San José del Cabo in 1778 for the purpose of studying an eclipse, took advantage of their opportunity and made a limited written record of the Cape Region. But it remained for Padre Francisco Xavier Clavijero, the eminent Santa Cruz Jesuit, to prepare during the latter half of the century the most scholarly and comprehensive known treatise on the Peninsula from Cape San Lucas to the twenty-ninth parallel. Clavijero's work not only includes the mission details submitted by the Jesuit missionaries in their letters and reports, but considers at

length the botanical and zoological life of the country, as then known.

After the publication of Clavijero's treatise, over a century passed before any attempt was made to verify or add to his statements, except by a report on Cedros Island made by Dr. Veitch in 1859 and through Dr. Wm. Gabb's notes prepared in 1867. Then, in 1890, the late W. E. Bryant, of the California Academy of Sciences, turned his steps from the State of California, and, as the pioneer modern scientist to visit the ancient Mother of California, began the exploration of the Cape Region. Two years later he made a second visit, this time accompanied by a fellow scientist, Dr. Gustav Eisen, of the American Geographical Society and the California Academy of Sciences. The exploration (horticultural, botanical and zoological) of the Cape Region was completed by Dr. Eisen in 1893 and 1894. F. S. Brandegree and F. H. Vaslit took part in a portion of these scientific explorations. So deeply did the indefatigable Eisen become interested in his work that he extended his field of examination into the region about Loreto, San Ignacio, Magdalena Bay and the Santa Clara Sierras and even northward along the coast above Calmalli. He characterized the Peninsula as a country that had come down into modern times the least known territory in the world, excepting only the polar regions and a few inland deserts.

In 1903 Edmund Heller visited the San Pedro Mártir and Laguna Hanson Sierras at the north, collecting mammals for the Field Columbian Museum; in the fall of the same year the writer, in company with his brother, the U. S. Commissioner of Immigration at San Francisco, made a study of the border country and the Colorado Desert. In the spring of 1904, Lewis R. Freeman, in behalf of the *Western Field,* a San Francisco magazine, made a careful investigation of the delta of the

Colorado River. A year later the writer revisited the Colorado Desert and entered the Cocupa Sierras.

The years 1905-6, however, witnessed the most comprehensive explorations ever made of the interior of the California Peninsula. In the spring of 1905 E. W. Nelson and E. A. Goldman of the U. S. Biological Survey left Ensenada and spent nearly a year and traveled almost two thousand miles studying the mammals, birds and insects of the country. At the north they visited the region covered by Heller in 1903, then traveled southward to San Quintin, San Fernando, San Andreas, Calmalli and San Ignacio and thence over the section covered by Eisen and his associates between 1892-1900. Considering that these two government scientists traveled on horseback and in consequence were obliged to follow traveled *caminos*, the extent of country covered by them is little short of marvelous. In the spring of 1906 two other naturalists, W. W. Brown and H. W. Marsden, the former collecting for Harvard University and the John E. Thayer Museum, studied zoological and biological conditions for several months on Cedros and Natividad Islands.

So soon as the reports of these most recent scientists are published, the curious student may obtain, by perusing them in connection with the works of Clavijero, Veitch, Gabb, Eisen and Heller, an accurate idea, at last, of the natural history of Lower California, both as it was noted in the days of the Jesuits and as it is at present.*

And now this chronicle has arrived at the present time.

The calm consideration of the scientific aspects of the coun-

*During this same 1905-6 period the writer enjoyed twenty-five hundred miles of his zigzagging explorations up and down and across the Peninsula, much of it done with burros and with the intent of familiarizing himself with the country and tracing out the lost *caminos* of the Indians and the padres. In the course of these explorations he passed along the routes of Taraval, Link, Serra, Arilliga and Pattie.—A. W. N.

AT SOCORRO
Making adobes for house building

try, which here brings to a close the historical narrative of Lower California, exemplifies its wholesome advance during the past half-century far more keenly than would any ringing succession of fulsome paragraphs. Degraded poverty, abject misery, practical anarchy, staggering pathos of no hope except the realization of no lower depths: from such disheartening surroundings the unfortunate Peninsula in 1855 faced a black and lowering horizon. As a consequence of the events crowding the succeeding years, three conditions now stand forth, presenting a firm foundation for the building up of the future of the country. The points of this basic triangle are a well-administered and stable government developed through the constructive ability of President Diaz, an accurate knowledge of the extensive coast line secured by the hydrographic surveys of the United States Government and, finally, the liberal understanding of the interior which has been gathered by various American explorers. Except for the methods of the greater number of the Colonial promoters and managers, colonists would, ere this, have accomplished much in the country; as it is, they have merely developed some few sections. In 1890 it was written that, "if not forced into the hothouse of speculation beyond the sustaining strength of its own gradually developed resources, Lower California may, in a few years, become a territory of more political interest than ever before." Unfortunately, it had been so forced even then. The "hothouse of speculation" methods have done more harm to the country than all other causes combined.

Gone now, however, are the vast majority of the various colonists. Gone, too, *conquistador* and missionary—aye, long years gone and nigh forgotten. But to those who know the voice of Nature the weird fascination of the land still lives. Up from silent desert and boundless *llanos*, out from hidden

recesses of the Sierra comes the mystic call as it did in the days of Cortez and Cabrillo, Kino and Ugarte, Consag and Link, Serra and Arilliga, the Patties and De Mofras.

"Something hidden. Go and find it,
Go and look behind the Ranges—
Something lost behind the Ranges—
Lost and waiting for you. Go!"

Such material matters, as have been disclosed to those who have heeded the call, must now be considered. What is the physical nature of Lower California? What are its resources? Who are its people and how do they live? What future lies before the land? These are the immediate questions to be answered.

VI

PHYSICAL LOWER CALIFORNIA

Geographically, Lower California is a long, jagged peninsula, lashed on its western and southern shores by the booming waves of the Pacific Ocean and separated from the mainland of Mexico by the restless Colorado River and by the opalescent waters of the Sea of Cortez, or, as that body is termed with less grace but greater frequency, the Gulf of California. With a general trend from northwest to southeast, this strange territory attains a maximum length of some two hundred and fifty leagues, although its breadth in places is a scant ten and nowhere exceeds fifty leagues. In round numbers the area of Lower California exceeds thirty-eight million acres, and of these, seventeen and a quarter million are north of the twenty-eighth parallel of latitude. In calling the Gulf the *Adriatic of the West* and in likening the Peninsula to their beloved Italy, the Jesuits made an excellent general comparison, both topographically and climatically. Lower California is a hundred miles the longer, however, while the Italian peninsula has the greater breadth. Also, the latter enjoys more moisture and has more level land.

From the American boundary on the north to Cape San Lucas, shouldering high above cactus-clad plains, small oases and parched deserts, there extends throughout the California Peninsula a mighty range of grim mountains, sloping away to the west, breaking off to the east in abrupt, awe-inspiring cliffs. Of these sierras, five thousand feet is but an average

height, and he who explores their lofty ridges is rewarded by views of majestic grandeur which some day will be heralded among men. Rich in boulders, cliffs, minerals and cacti, the entire Peninsula is strangely devoid of trees and springs, except about the timber plateaus of Laguna Hanson, San Pedro Mártir Sierra and in the Laguna Sierras above San José del Cabo. Few passes bisect the main range. In one section of these sierras *mesas* are the rule, in another lofty peaks are outlined sharply against the sky. Truncated cones are frequent. San Pedro Mártir Sierra, in many reports and without valid ground therefor, termed "Calamahue Mountain," attains an altitude of 10,126 feet and is the highest peak in Lower California; certain of its unscaled heights should appeal to the daring of the more intrepid members of the Sierra, Mazama, Alpine or kindred mountain-climbing associations. Throughout the main peninsular range the soil is usually shallow: frequently there are massive, beetling shoulders of rock, devoid of any earth; again and again long white scars mark where sudden torrents of prehistoric or modern times have torn aside the thin covering and exposed a granite heart; and yet within sight of this poverty of soil there is found at times an arroyo bottom where a spring bubbles out beneath the shadow of a palm and waters marvelously rich acres of sandy loam.

Sections of this sierra have local names. The mountains back from San José del Cabo are known as the Laguna—and also as the San Lázaro—Mountains, those immediately south of La Paz are called the Cacachilas; the grim ridges and peaks back of Loreto were known, even among the ancient padres, as the Sierra Giganta; the sierras, southwest of San Ignacio and separating the *llanos* of Ojo de Liebre and Magdalena, are called, indiscriminately, the Sierra Pintada and the Santa Clara Sierras; San Pedro Mártir Sierra is a range by itself, extending

for fifty miles northwest and southeast and having a plateau width of nigh ten miles: the timber-covered mountains northwest of Santa Catarina Mission are spoken of, locally, as the Laguna Hanson Mountains, and north of them lie a group of sharp peaks referred to as "The Picachos"; immediately west of the mouth of the Colorado River lies a weird range of barren, sand-swept mountains called the Sierra del Pinto, and a few miles northwest of the Pintos lie the Cocupa Sierras.

Part and parcel of these sierras are their deep and tortuous arroyos, immense, long and winding gorges slashed deep into the sierras and frequently containing springs or water-holes and spots of alluvial soil.

The sierras and the arroyos tell of their prehistoric life. The vast stretches of lava formation, the sea-shells on the lofty ridges and peaks, the mud volcanoes at the headwaters of the Hardy River, the spark of life that still throbs rebelliously within the lofty Tres Virgenes towering above San Ignacio, the not infrequent *temblors,* the mighty chasms, rent asunder by the awful convulsions of nature: these all bespeak the volcanic origin of the land. Geologists class the sierra back-bone of the Peninsula as a continuation of the mountain ranges in Eastern San Bernardino and Riverside Counties and in Central San Diego County in the State of California. They parallel the range with submarine sierras, evidenced by a series of islands and rocks fifty leagues off the western shore of the Peninsula and separated therefrom by great depths of water. These scientists say, further, that the region about and immediately above San José del Cabo is the remnant of a formerly existing tropical peninsula that extended southward along the Mexican coast, taking in the Tres Marías and other islands and separated from the balance of the present California Peninsula by a channel passing westerly from the Bay of La Paz to the

Pacific Ocean. They proceed with their theory and make another prehistoric island of the territory between the Cape Region and the twenty-ninth parallel of latitude, north. Certainly, along the line of each of these supposed channels the sierras dip downward and the Peninsula is extremely narrow.

Examined from a modern topographical standpoint, Lower California consists of four natural subdivisions, viz.: the Cape Region, embracing the Cape San Lucas section and extending northward slightly above the latitude of La Paz to, say, 24°, 20' north; Central Lower California, extending northward from the Cape Region to the twenty-eighth parallel, north; the "Waist," the narrow, rugged region from the twenty-eighth to the thirtieth parallel of north latitude, and La Frontera, including the territory from the thirtieth parallel to the international boundary (lying just north of the thirty-second parallel of north latitude and defined, by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, as a straight line running from the junction of the Gila and Colorado Rivers to a point one marine league south of the port of San Diego as located by a survey made in 1782). Climatically, and from their flora and fauna, Central Lower California and the Waist are intermediary between the Cape Region, which is semi-tropical, and La Frontera, which is not unlike Sonora and the southern part of the State of California.

The large sections of the Peninsula which are not sierra regions are usually either wide deserts or hot barren *llanos*, or plains. Guadalupe Valley, above Ensenada in La Frontera, is an exception, being vastly similar to the great farming valleys so frequent in the State of California. Scattered here and there about La Frontera are excellent tracts of farming land, such as the valleys of San Telmo and Rosario, and along the Hardy and the Colorado Rivers there are thousands of acres of fertile and level land, which by reclamation would become extremely

THE TOP OF LOWER CALIFORNIA
La Providencia Picacho, one of the unscaled peaks of San Pedro Mártir Sierra

productive. The land of the Colorado Desert also is alluvial and produces heavily after irrigation, as does that about San Quintin. The desert back of the Cocupa Sierras and bordering on the Laguna Salada and the San Felipe Desert, further south, are excellent grazing districts, but the title of "desert" well describes them.

The Waist is practically devoid of level lands, excepting *mesas* or *llanos*, floored with lava. In the neighborhood of Los Flores, however, there are some rather large valleys.

In Central Lower California are found the most extensive *llanos* on the Peninsula, those of Ojo de Liebre and Magdalena; they border on the Pacific Ocean and contain hundreds of thousands of acres of level or rolling land. Could these be cleared of cacti and reached by water, they would make good agricultural land, unless alkali materialized.

The Cape Region is the most productive portion of the Peninsula, the San José Valley and the country about San José del Cabo and Todos Santos being beautiful garden spots.

But while La Frontera has greater known level tracts of land, suitable for farming purposes, than have the three southern subdivisions, throughout the sierras in the latter there are immense arroyos, floored with fertile soil and watered by small streams; these arroyo spots are unsurpassed for their productiveness and support the greater part of the population of the Peninsula. The good soil in these three sections of the country is usually of an ashy volcanic loam.

The Colorado and the Hardy are the only rivers that touch Lower California. The so-called "rivers" of Tia Juana, San Vicenti, Santo Domingo, Rosario, Mulege, Comondú, Purísima, Todos Santos, San José, etc., are small streams except in time of exceptional storm or of cloudburst. Of these last named "rivers" the Purísima carries the largest volume of water;

accurately speaking, it is a long chain of broad water-holes, scooped deep in the rocky bottom of a great arroyo where rain- and spring-water alike gather. The San José and Todos Santos streams are in the Cape Region; the Purísima, Comondú and Mulege streams in Central Lower California; and the Rosario, Santo Domingo, San Vicenti and Tia Juana, together with the Hardy and the Colorado Rivers, are in La Frontera. The Waist boasts no streams.

The Hardy River and the Colorado River are in classes by themselves. Books have been written concerning the Colorado: its romance has been published, its tragedy is being enacted. For generations its tidal bore caused men to marvel and to fear to approach its mouth, and yet, in September, 1906, burro-deer, coyotes and a man waded across the river just above its junction with the Hardy, passing, in their journey, the carcass of a whale left stranded high and dry! Formerly, when the snow began to melt in the high mountains where it headed and spring rains fell, the Colorado poured down into the Sea of Cortez with a mighty torrent, and then, before the powerful tides of that sea, its waters were forced back, only to return as a tidal bore close in the wake of the retreating tide. Doubtless the river will return to this course now that it has been brought back to its bed again. In this play of ocean and sea the Hardy, too, had its part, overflowing into the desert by the Laguna Salada when the Colorado overflowed, and then draining back into the Colorado at its leisure. After its overflow the Hardy is from fifty to a hundred yards in width and, its snaky course considered, doubtless fifty leagues in length. Its headwaters are among a group of some sixty mud volcanoes, situated about eight leagues south of the international boundary and an equal distance west of the Colorado River. These "volcanoes" have been described as "circular holes containing boiling mud

and exhaling a naphtha-like odor. Many of them are encrusted with mud forming cones three to four feet high, from the apex of which proceed mingled vapors of water, sal ammoniac and sulphur." Between the brackishness of its source and the incoming tide, the Hardy is a murky, salty stream.

North of the Hardy River there is a considerable laguna, or lake, and several smaller ones. Laguna Salada (sometimes termed *Laguna Maquata*) is a long, narrow, brackish lake southwest of the main ridge of the Cocupa Sierras; reinforced by the overflows of the Hardy, at other times this lake dwindles down into two sloughs. Eight or nine leagues further southwest, surrounded by pines and at an altitude of over five thousand feet, lies Laguna Hanson, a crystal gem of water. At the meadow of La Grulla on the heights of San Pedro Mártir Sierra there is a very small pond. All of these bodies of water are in La Frontera. In the Waist of the Peninsula there are two small lagunas, one known as Lake Chapala while the other has no known name. In the Cape Region there is a laguna in the sierras above San José del Cabo. These lagunas are nothing more than ponds.

With a coast line so indented that its full length is over six hundred leagues in actual measurement, the Peninsula is richly endowed with harbors and bays. Fleets might search the seas for more magnificent retreats than Magdalena Bay on the Pacific and Playa Los Angeles on the Gulf. The first of these is described in the publications of the United States Hydrographic Office as "one of the most spacious and safe harbors in the world, (it) is about fifteen miles long, northwest and southeast, and twelve miles wide." The actual length of this great sheet of water, however, is nearer forty than fifteen miles, but points making out from the mainland and from Santa Margarita, a long narrow island crowded in shore-

wards, divide it into two bays of which the northerly one is termed Magdalena and the southerly Almaca, or Almejas, Bay. Among the old-time whalers these bays were known as Weather and Lee Bays. Numerous large lagoons branch out from Magdalena Bay. Although there is a small settlement on Margarita Island, the only really excellent water is brought from the Rancho of Matancita, on the mainland, leagues distant. Through the courtesy of Mexico,* the United States is permitted to send her men-of-war to Magdalena Bay for target practice, and the booming cannon of the great white ships awaken, periodically, the echoes about the lonely harbor. Playa Los Angeles is a superb sheet of water, covering an area of nigh twenty-five miles. Protected on the east and the northeast by no less than fifteen islands and islets, it is a tranquil, land-locked harbor where whales are wont to bring forth their young, undisturbed by clanging bells, escaping steam or the splash of anchors. The majestic curve of its shore line and its inviting stretches of sandy beach call forth the admiration of the few strangers who chance to behold them. The Bay of Sebastian Viscaino on the west coast is full sixty miles in width and over fifty in its inland reach. Puerto San Bartolomé, also on the Pacific, and Pichilingue, Puerto Escondido and Santa Rosalia on the Gulf are magnificent, well-protected harbors, while the entire coast line is notched with small bays and open roadsteads at least a dozen of which are noteworthy—though they remain practically unvisited.

The islands adjacent to the coast are as numerous as its

*On the eve of the departure of the United States fleet for the Pacific Ocean in the closing days of 1907, Mexico exhibited still greater courtesy by granting to her northern sister the right to establish and maintain coaling stations at Magdalena Bay for a period of three years. At the time of going to press it is announced in naval publications that the great fleet will spend a month at the superb bay, engaged in big gun practice.—A. W. N.

LOWER CALIFORNIA BIGHORN
Monarch of the Sierra heights

indentations. Indeed, their aggregate area has been estimated at one-fifteenth that of the Peninsula. Few of them are inhabited, however, save by sea-fowl, rabbits and goats, sheep or deer. The more important are Cedros, Natividad, Guadalupe, and Margarita Islands off the west coast, and Ceralbo, Espiritu Santo, San Joséf, Santa Catarina, Carmen, San Lorenzo, Angél de la Guardia and Montague in the Gulf. Of these, Angél de la Guardia, forty miles in length and with an extreme width of ten miles, is the largest; Cedros, twenty-one miles in length and with an extreme width of nine miles, is second; the others named are from six to seventeen miles in length. The majority of all these islands are mountainous; Guadalupe boasts a peak with an elevation of 4,523 feet, the heights of Cedros approach 4,000 feet, while a range nigh to that elevation runs the length of Angél de la Guardia. Though of volcanic origin many of these islands have more or less vegetation, several of them have been noted guano fields; Guadalupe and Cedros possess considerable timber; Angél de la Guardia is absolutely barren.

There is excuse enough for barrenness in Lower California, however, for there rain is capricious: sometimes it may fall in every season of the year, sometimes it may forget to fall at all. In this strange country rain is an event and even happens without clouds. Snow is somewhat regular in the northern sierras, dew comes with the midnight in the Waist of the Peninsula, and fogs are not infrequent along the western coast above the Cape Region. It may be safely said that the Cape Region and the country bordering on the Sea of Cortez receive their rainfall from the tropical summer rains originating in the Gulf of Mexico, the heaviest and surest rainfall being precipitated along the sierra back-bone. It may also be said that the west coast of La Frontera, or that portion of it above San Quintin, is subject to most uncertain winter rains, the tail end

of storms which originate in the far North. Throughout the country the rain-water disappears almost as soon as the rain is over.

Of springs, Lower California has a strangely limited number. The majority of them are found in the sides or heads of the sierra arroyos. Some of these, such as Agua Dulce and Youbai in the Waist of the Peninsula, the springs of Comondú and Purísima in Central Lower California and the spring at San Bartolo in the Cape Region pour out immense bodies of water. The absence of springs on the great deserts and *llanos* is so complete that deaths by thirst have been numerous, and yet it is quite probable that artesian water might be found by boring either on the *llanos* above San Quintin, or along the more extensive stretches in Central Lower California near the Pacific Coast. Water has been readily found on these *llanos* by sinking wells of from forty to one hundred feet in depth, but no one seems to have been possessed of requisite energy to try for the liberal government reward offered to him who first obtains an artesian flow. There is a fine bubbling soda spring at the old Mission of Calamyget, arsenic and borax springs have been found, and *aguas calientes*, or hot springs, are not infrequent. Peculiar to the country, however, and the most frequent watering-places in Lower California, are the *tinajas*, or natural cisterns. These are water-holes found in the rock-bottoms of arroyos where rain collects. In some of these *tinajas* there are thousands of gallons of water, and in them small fish and water-terrapin are found. These *tinajas* are the salvation of those who travel about the Peninsula.

Considering its immense coast line, Lower California is not a land of many or severe winds. Off the northeastern portion of the Cape Region there occurs, at intervals of several years, a local hurricane known as *El Cordonaso*. While this hurricane

has an ill reputation, it is of amusing interest from the tradition surrounding its name. According to the residents, Oliver Cromwell ravaged the east coast of the Peninsula during the seventeenth century as a buccaneer, and so severe were his depredations that the hurricane was named for him. Even residents of education are thoroughly satisfied that the doughty Oliver visited the land during his time! Heavy winds occur periodically along the twenty-eighth parallel, and in the winter cold winds sweep across the northern portion of the Sea of Cortez and acquire added iciness from the snowy heights of San Pedro Mártir. On the Gulf northwesterly winds prevail from October to May and southeasterly winds from May to October. The prevailing winds throughout the Peninsula are from the northwest and the southwest. The magnetic variation of the compass in Lower California reaches from six to fourteen degrees.

The air of Lower California is dry and pure and the atmosphere, except on the fog-swept western coast, is marvelously clear. Southward from the thirty-first parallel one may easily read in the white light of the full moon, and in the Cape Region the Southern Cross adorns the heavens. South of the mouth of the Hardy River and off Ojo de Liebre treacherous mirages in many and varied designs deceive the vision and vex the traveler. Perhaps the very narrowness of the Peninsula gives to its atmosphere a touch of the bracing air of the sea, or perhaps the dryness of the land gives the air an intense purity: whatever the cause, the result is that there is probably no more healthful climate in the world than that of Lower California. This was the verdict of the Jesuit missionaries who were in touch with the "uttermost parts of the earth"; this was the verdict of the New York Volunteers who occupied the country during the Mexican War and whose officers likened

the climate to that of Persia or Arabia, reporting in a year but two deaths from natural causes among fifteen hundred people; this has been the verdict of those who have resided in or explored the land. Certainly it is a country where disease is infrequent and wounds heal readily, where extreme age is no rarity and physicians are practically unknown. Probably from a standpoint of health the most favored sections are along the line of the high sierras and throughout the Waist of the Peninsula.

The mean temperature of Lower California is not known. The coldest region is along the line of the San Pedro Mártir Sierra, Valle Trinidad, the country about Santa Catarina Mission and through the Laguna Hanson range in La Frontera. Throughout this high plateau region there is an abundance of ice during the winter months and the nights are always cold. The Colorado and San Felipe Deserts in La Frontera and the *llanos* back from Magdalena Bay experience as great heat as any sections of the country, but it is not a moist heat. For balmy air the Cape Region and the east coast of the Waist are unsurpassed.

In so summery a clime the least rainfall is sufficient to deck the land with a profusion of wild flowers and only an absolute drought destroys the abundant good grass, varieties of which haunt even the deserts. But the most frequent form of vegetation throughout Lower California is the cactus. It has its blooming time, too, for in the spring it sends forth blossoms of the deepest and most gorgeous hues. The mesquit and the attractive *palo verde* hover near the arroyos, the former attaining to immense girth in Central Lower California and in the Waist Region. In La Frontera pines are found on the high sierra plateaus and live-oaks in the sierra valleys, but south of the thirty-first parallel these trees are practically unknown until

AMONG THE PINES OF SAN PEDRO MÁRTIR SIERRA

the Cape Region with its piñons and scrub-oaks is reached. The cacti flourish everywhere. The useful *viznaga*, the vicious *cholla*, the *ocotilla*, or its cousin, the *Palo Adan*, the *maguay* and the *tuna:* these thorny growths greet the traveler as he crosses the international boundary, and he parts with them only at the Cape. The giant *cardones* and the prized *pithaya* thrive south of the thirty-first parallel, while the graceful *cirio* or *milapa* is indigenous to the Waist. In La Frontera there are few palms, but in the other sections of the country they stand guard above the springs and water-holes.

There is no lack of bird and animal life in Lower California. Giant condors guard the rocky peaks of the loftiest sierras, glossy crows and ravens patrol the *mesas* and *llanos* in their vigilance permitting no dead creature to infect the purity of the air, and in the most forsaken wildernesses of the Waist and Central Region the traveler is cheered by the sweet notes of the nightingale, the mocking-bird and the brilliant cardinal. To the few sportsmen who have entered its picturesque fastnesses, the Peninsula is a land of delightful recollections. Wolves have died off and bear have never frequented the country, but several varieties of wild cats, two varieties of native lions and two of foxes, coyotes, a few antelopes (perhaps two hundred in all, divided into eight bunches), burro-deer about the Colorado River, and a few of the ordinary California deer scattered throughout the brush and timber country, a dark mountain sheep and the ordinary light variety (the *tajes*, noted by Padre Clavijero in his classic writings many decades before the early nineteenth century naturalists first made mention of the rocky mountain bighorn): these await the big game hunter who is undismayed by precipices, thorns, thirst, heat and cold, blind trails, scorpions, tarantulas, *salamankasers*, three varieties of rattlesnakes and minor obstacles.

Fortunately, the "pestivorous" little *chinche* and the jigger of more tropical Mexico do not infest the Peninsula. Of quail and doves (three varieties of each), of ducks, geese and snipe there seems to be no limit. Luckily for the preservation of this game, the Mexican government is making the introduction of firearms almost an impossibility; let it place a limit, also, on the slaughter of game for local mines and then the country will long remain a paradise for creatures of the wilderness.

VII

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Politically, Lower California is one of the two territories of the Republic of Mexico, the other being Tepic. Among the states and territories of that Republic it ranks fourth in area and last in population. It is divided into two districts, known as *Distrito Norte* and *Distrito Sur,* over each of which there is placed a first executive and military officer styled *Jefe Político y Militar,* or Political and Military Chief; the office is filled by federal appointment. In each district, moreover, an *ayuntamiento,* or legislative assembly, exercises such limited local territorial legislation as is permitted. For the greater facilitation of its local government the extensive *Distrito Sur* has been subdivided into two *partidos: Partido Sur,* consisting of the municipalities of La Paz, San Antonio, Santiago, San José and Todos Santos; *Partido Centre,* embracing the municipalities of Mulege and Comondú. At Ensenada, Mulege and La Paz there are courts of the First Instance, at El Triumfo and San José del Cabo courts of the Second Instance, and every township of over five hundred inhabitants has its *Juez de Paz,* or Justice of the Peace. *Gendarmes Federal,* or mounted rural police, popularly called *Rurales,* enforce the laws and preserve peace; in the northern district there are fifty of these *gendarmes,* in the southern, seventy. Each district, moreover, has a company of one hundred and forty federal soldiers; Ensenada, Mulege and La Paz are the military stations. With the exception of local hospitals of limited capacity, one at Santa

Rosalia and the other at La Paz, there are no public hospitals or asylums; families care for their own sick and aged and permit the harmless insane to roam at large. In addition to the income accruing through customs' duties, public moneys are raised by mining taxes, slight land and personal property taxes, by licenses on professions and trades, and by stamp taxes. Not infrequently people are arrested for not understanding the latest stamp tax and, along the Border, Mexicans and Americans occasionally get into trouble by endeavoring to smuggle goods into Mexico, while Mexicans are constantly trying to pass Chinese into the United States in defiance of the immigration laws.

The Census of 1900, the only complete official enumeration ever had upon the Peninsula, showed 8,100 inhabitants in the *Distrito Norte*, of whom 1,095 were Cocupa, Yuma and Cahuilla Indians; *Distrito Sur* was credited with nearly 25,000 people. The ancient southern Indian tribes of the Pericues, Guiacuras and Cochiemes are practically extinct and the northern tribes are rapidly becoming so. For 1906, a population of 4,500, fifteen per cent thereof being Indians, for the northern district and 23,000 for the southern district is a fair estimate, a population practically of one resident to every two sections of land! This shows but slight change from the year 1803, when Alexander Humboldt estimated the population at one to every square league.

At Santa Rosalia there are some two hundred French citizens; early in 1905 a Russian colony of nigh one hundred families acquired land and located themselves near the site of the Dominican Mission of Guadalupe of the Frontiers; aside from the officials of the colonization company at Ensenada and of one of the pearl-fishery companies at La Paz, there are practically no English upon the Peninsula; of Americans

RANCHO JESUS MARÍA
Home of a wealthy southern *ranchero*

there are a handful engaged in cattle-raising and mining. The bulk of the inhabitants are Mexicans, easy-going and improvident, kindly disposed and of courteous demeanor. Excepting for a disposition to disregard property rights in live stock, the Indians mind their own affairs and are peaceful; the greater number of them belong to the Cocupa tribe and live along the Hardy and Colorado Rivers. Near the Border bad *mescal* and worse whiskey, and in some of the larger pueblos bad *mescal*, occasionally incite the looser characters, Mexican and Indian, to crime, but respect for the law is well nigh universal.

Santa Rosalia, with a population slightly in excess of seven thousand, is the largest town on the Peninsula. Under the direction of the officers of El Boleo and the admirable administration of Señor J. A. Bouchet, its widely informed mayor, Santa Rosalia grows steadily. La Paz has a population of five thousand. After the manner of larger capitals its very air is filled with politics and intrigue, but the city is well governed and, more than any other on the Peninsula, is like the pueblos on the mainland. In La Paz there are many attractive homes and an imposing government building. El Triumfo numbers three thousand inhabitants. But San José del Cabo, with sixteen hundred residents, San Ignacio with a thousand and Comondú, Mulege and Todos Santos, each with some six hundred, are the most charming and delightful of the villages of Lower California. To be exiled in any one of these five would be no unkind fate. From its English and American origin, Ensenada is not a typical Mexican town; its situation, however, is delightful. Historic Loreto, for so many years the capital of the Californias, is now a small pueblo of six hundred inhabitants. In 1905 it had an export trade of raisins, wine, *panoche*, dates and grain aggregating twenty thousand *pesos*

in value. It has no telephones or telegraph, no railway, not even a newspaper or a bank. In fact there is but a single bank in Lower California and that is located at Ensenada. Newspapers, however, are published in Ensenada and La Paz. In the latter city, indeed, the first Peninsula newspaper, *El Sentinela,* was issued in 1854 by Sr. Miguel F. Castro.

Between the principal towns mails are carried by buckboard, stage or by riders. Telephones connect Tia Juana, Ensenada and San Quintin, and Ensenada and Alamo at the north. Ensenada is connected with San Diego by telegraph, and wireless stations, connecting the Peninsula with the mainland, have been opened recently by the government at San José del Cabo and at Santa Rosalia. Telegraph wires have been strung from Santa Rosalia to Mulege in the south. At no place in the territory, however, do any of the American or Mexican express companies maintain offices.

The highways of Lower California are few and wretched. No wagon road extends the length of the territory. The greater part of the wagon roads are in La Frontera, a few are in the Cape Region. Excepting for broken stretches along the Gulf Coast between Santa Rosalia and La Paz and for two or three short highways running inland from the Pacific Coast, Central Lower California and the Waist are barren of roads in the usual acceptance of the word. The making of a new trail is an unheard of thing, and new roads are only constructed by means of foreign mining capital. The old *caminos* of the padres have been neglected—the *Gulfo Camino* is practically lost above Santa Rosalia and the *Sierra* and *Pacifico Caminos* merely piece out one another—until they cause worry even to a burro and only admit of progress slightly more rapid than the pace of a snail. These *caminos* usually follow the course of an arroyo or swing directly across a *mesa,* and to stray from

MAKING MESCAL AT PURÍSIMA
This native "fire-water" is in great demand on the Peninsula

them means a struggle with vicious cacti. A law requiring the erection of guide boards and compelling all residents annually to labor three or four days on these trails would be of inestimable benefit. At present they are clogged with loose stones in some places and washed out and indistinct in others, while an occasional pile of stones or a stick driven into the side of a cactus are the only signs employed to indicate the junction of trails or the proximity of water.

Until most recently a railroad reaching out from San Quintin was the longest in Lower California; its length is perhaps eighteen miles. The rusted tracks of the road are visible and there is hearsay evidence that an engine passes over them once a year, but such evidence is not deemed admissible. Short mining railroads are in use at the San Juan Mine, at Santa Rosalia and El Triumfo. In the fall of 1907 a line thirty odd miles in length was opened between Calexico and Paradones near the Border. Until a railroad bisects the Peninsula—a feasible proposition—or extends down from San Diego to Cape San Lucas so as to connect with shipping from Panama and Tehuantepec (which brings New York 1,477 miles nearer than the Panama route), the growth of the country must remain insignificant.

With no entering railroad Lower California is largely shut off from the world. Between San Diego and Ensenada a small steamer plies weekly and the Pacific Coast Steamship Company's *Curacao* makes a monthly run from San Francisco to Ensenada, San José del Cabo, La Paz, Santa Rosalia and return. En route the *Curacao* touches at Guaymas, Altata, Mazatlan and Topolabampo, making mainland railroad connections. Several Mexican steamer lines operate upon the Sea of Cortez, connecting San José del Cabo, La Paz, Loreto, Mulege and Santa Rosalia with each other and with Guaymas where, via the

Sonora Railway, passage may be had into the United States at Nogales.

The principal industries of Lower California are the mining of copper, gold and silver, pearl-fishing, cattle-raising, the production of sugar-cane and the date of commerce, and the gathering of tan-bark. Each of these could be widely extended with great profit, while the field is inviting for the mining of iron and the production of hemp, fiber and rubber. Until very recently valuable cargoes of *orchilla* were gathered along the west coast of Central Lower California. This *orchilla* is a lichen resembling gray moss in its appearance. It grows on the branches of low bushes and is used in the preparation of dyes. The gathering of shells, of the fruit of the cacti, and of the wax and delicious honey of the numerous swarms of wild bees, the raising of fruits and stock, fishing and the catching of turtles,—these, also, are important. The Sea of Cortez is alive with innumerable varieties of edible fish, while its islands, as the haunts of sea-fowl, are rich with guano and, in the nesting season, are much frequented for birds' eggs. In addition to these natural resources, there are tanneries, manufactories in leather—for such work Miraflores in the south has long been noted,—flour mills, wineries, and stills for the making of *mescal*. In 1905 the mechanics and manufacturers of the northern district alone produced $365,945 worth of goods.

But Lower California is no country of manufactories. Furthermore, with an uncertain and light rainfall and over four-fifths of its area crowded with rugged sierras, it can never be an extensive agricultural region unless some irrigation scheme be arranged whereby all its *llanos* and its deserts may be watered. Sugar-cane and dates (in San Ignacio Arroyo alone there are fifty thousand date-palms and the native mills of half a dozen of the southern pueblos handle large crops of sugar-cane) grow

THE PITHAYA DULCE
A frequent growth in the Distrito Sur

upon the slightest encouragement, but of corn and grain only small plots are cultivated excepting in portions of La Frontera. The natives gather a large amount of fruit from the cacti that flourish in a wild state throughout the Peninsula. Of this fruit the most highly prized is produced by the *pithaya dulce*. From the short, stocky trunk of this cactus numbers of green fluted shoots curve out and then arise in rows, straight, parallel and graceful, attaining a height of from ten to twenty feet. In the spring white and red blossoms burst forth near the ends of the shoots, and these are succeeded by the fruit which grows to the size of an apple. Its color is either red or yellow and the taste of the pulp, whether fresh or preserved, is excellent. The core of the *viznaga* cactus contains sufficient juice to sustain life in the traveler on the *llanos*, but its taste is disagreeable except when made into a sweetmeat.

The *maguay*, or aloe, grows in all sections of Lower California, and from it the natives obtain a variety of products. They cook the young stalk in hot ashes and it is as succulent as a sweet potato; they invert the blossom and shake out a considerable amount of sweet dew; they make *mescal* from the heart of the budding plant, and they obtain tinder and fiber from the leaves. In the process of making *mescal*, the national strong drink of Mexico, there are six successive steps, viz.: (1) When about to send forth its stalk, the plant is torn from the ground and stripped of its leaves until a mere core, a few inches in diameter, remains; (2) this core is roasted in an oven; (3) the roasted core is reduced to a fibrous pulp by pounding in a mortar; (4) the pulp and its attendant juice are left in large hide vats to ferment; (5) water is poured over the fermented mass and the mixture is boiled in copper vessels connected with a screw; (6) out from the screw dribbles a small stream of colorless, limpid liquid, sharp in taste and

excessively alcoholic. This final product is *mescal;* its intoxicating powers are truly wonderful. However, though *mescal* is popularly credited with being the stone around the neck of the Mexican peon, in Lower California over-indulgence in extremely strong coffee is by far the more general dissipation.

Living for and by the stimulus of such coffee, isolated from the world, lacking in initiative, in energy and in appreciation of the necessity of continuity at work, sensitive to the slightest cold, devoid of all adventurous instinct of exploration, the natives of the Peninsula are a full hundred years behind their northern neighbors. Their entire life is built upon the plane of the opening years of the nineteenth century. So completely sufficient for them are the improvements of the padres that, as soon as they find no elbow room, the younger generations in the fertile southern sections emigrate northward in place of extending the old irrigating systems and developing a broader area. Thus, at San Ignacio there is a group of families from San José del Cabo, at Rosario there is a group from San Ignacio, and at Ensenada and Alamo there are groups from San José del Cabo, San Ignacio and Rosario, while the young Mexicans at Ensenada and Alamo dream of living at San Diego or Los Angeles in the United States.

Though rarely given to initiating enterprises themselves, attracted by the wages, the natives flock to the mines promoted by foreigners and leave in their pueblos a great surplus of women. El Boleo, in building up Santa Rosalia, has thus made Adamless Edens of the fair valleys of Comondú, Purísima and San Ignacio. This disproportion of the sexes is evident even in the more considerable coast pueblos, for from them the ambitious sons of the families of education and culture emigrate to the larger fields presented in the mainland cities of Guaymas, Mazatlan and Guadalajara.

SUGAR MILL AT SAN JOSÉ DEL CABO

The town homes of the well-to-do have large and attractive gardens; and on even the smallest rancho the señora takes jealous care of her few plants and her domesticated native song-birds. Hospitality and the exchanging of presents are universal among all and, with the better classes, the giving of letters of introduction is a kindly custom that assures the traveler of warm welcome as he advances on his way. Even the higher officials of the country are universally courteous and approachable; moreover, they are ready with information and seem intent on performing their duties faithfully.

The interior of the Peninsula is to all intents an uninhabited, unfenced region. Lump together the population of the twelve largest towns and villages, and there is left less than five thousand people scattered over the nearly forty million acres. In the settlements the people live in houses of adobe (sun-dried native brick), or in shacks built of stakes and thatch. Santa Rosalia, a town of wood, is an exception. La Paz, Mulege and Ensenada are adorned by creditable public buildings. Out on the widely separated ranches, shacks are the rule. The subsidiary buildings of the old missions are utilized for residence purposes, but Peninsula rural life is essentially a healthful, out-of-doors existence. Benches are more frequent than chairs. Though American-made cots are coming into use, rawhide thongs, stretched across a bedstead, constitute mattress and bed most in use. The customary diet consists of coffee, milk, cheese, wild honey, *tortillas,* beans and crushed dried beef fried in lard. Coffee-drinking before breakfast is a favorite custom and boiled rice swimming in grease is a highly appreciated addition to any meal. In the three southern geographical subdivisions, *metates* are still in general use for the grinding of corn and wheat for *tortillas,* while flint, steel

and tinder rival the modern match. Here, at least, life is primitive, pastoral, interesting.

The most distinguishing articles of apparel of the Lower Californians are the *rebozos*, or fascinating head draperies of the women, the high peaked straw or felt sombreros of the men, the *guaraitches* or sandals of the poorer classes and the long brush knives and bell-shaped leather *chaparejos* of the southern *rancheros*. In addition, horsemen invariably carry their rifle sheaths muzzle *forward*, their traveling outfit in a leather pillow tied back of the saddle cantle, and their water supply in a pear-shaped leather bottle, holding over a gallon and suspended at the left of the pommel. The natives of the Peninsula are not only dexterous horsemen, almost from the cradle, but they become marvelously adept at following even the most indistinct trail.

Five distinct groups of cliff writings bear evidence of the prehistoric race that antedated the Indians upon the Peninsula. Though modern writers have had no word to add concerning these mysterious petroglyphs, the Jesuit scholars faithfully recorded their deep interest in these unsolved messages handed down from the misty ages. Concerning them Clavijero wrote as follows, viz.:

"Observing the few ancient vestiges that remain there, it is rational to conclude that the vast Peninsula was inhabited at an earlier time by a people less barbarous than those found by the Spaniards. The Jesuits, in the latter years of their management there, discovered in the mountains between the parallels of twenty-seven and twenty-eight various caves largely excavated in the living rock, and in them painted figures of men and women decently clad, and of different species of animals. These pictures, although rough, distinctly represented the objects. * * * Not belonging to the savage and tribal natives who inhabited California when the Spaniards arrived there, these pictures and dresses, without doubt, belonged to a people more ancient and unknown to us. There is a tradition throughout the country that is was

A MESSAGE COME DOWN FROM PREHISTORIC CALIFORNIANS
Ancient hieroglyphics on a high cliff near San Fernando

a gigantic people who came from the north. We do not claim credit for these traditions, but from various exhumations of human bones by the missionaries it cannot be doubted that formerly the country was inhabited by men of disproportionate size."

After describing certain remains found at the Rancho of San Joaquin, below the Mission of San Ignacio, by Padre José Robea in 1765, the author concludes:

"Taking into consideration the magnitude of the cranium, the place occupied by the whole skeleton and comparing its vertebræ with those of an ordinary skeleton, it is believed that the man to whom it belonged measured eleven feet in height."

Another old chronicler thus expressed himself on the subject:

"Throughout civilized California, from south to north, and especially in the caves and smooth rocks, there remain various rude paintings. * * * The colors are of four kinds: yellow, green, black and a reddish color. The greater part of them are painted in high places and from this it is inferred that the old tradition is true,—that there were giants among the ancient Californians. * * * One inscription* resembles Gothic letters interspersed with Hebrew and Chaldean characters. * * * It is evident that the paintings and drawings of the Californians are significant symbols and landmarks by which they intended to leave to posterity the memory of their establishment in this country. * * * These pictures are *not* like those in Mexico, but might have the same purpose."

In addition to these early discovered petroglyphs at San Ignacio and Santiago, there are three distinct groups to be seen in La Frontera: one near San Fernando, one on the northern slope of San Pedro Mártir Sierra, just off the desert, and a third thirty-five miles farther north in the Arroyo Grande. These various inscriptions have certain kindred points. All of

*Bancroft, in his "Native Races," after locating this inscription as near the old Jesuit Mission of Santiago, dismisses the subject with this statement: "The only accounts of antiquities relate to cave and cliff paintings and inscriptions which have never been copied and concerning which, consequently, not much can be said."

them are written on cliffs facing the east and at heights of from ten to fifteen feet above the base level; all are in close proximity to water. Those at San Ignacio and on San Pedro Mártir Sierra are picture drawings, while the other groups consist of characters not unlike those of the writings of the ancient Chaldeans and Ethiopians. However, until some method of deciphering these petroglyphs is discovered, all that can be predicated of the earliest Californians is that they were sufficiently advanced in civilization to clothe themselves and to employ an alphabet.

The handful of Indians now living at San Xavier are doubtless Guiacuras, and, as such, the only remaining group of the two most southerly tribes found by the Jesuit padres on their arrival in the seventeenth century. About Santa Gertrudis and San Borja Missions there are a few survivors of the once numerous Cochiemes. These Guiacura and Cochieme Indians are formally devout Roman Catholics and orderly in their conduct.

Of the northern Indians there are, today, five tribal groups: Cocupa, Yuma, Cahuilla,* Pais and "Digger." Only the first named numbers over one hundred individuals. The main *rancheria* of the Cocupas, termed Pozo Vicenti, is situated on the Hardy River. The Catarina Yumas live by the old Mission of Santa Catarina. From the aggressive tribe of fifteen hundred that crowded about the mission at its institution in 1797, they have dwindled to a scant four-score. For generations their hands have been raised against all comers. Pais, Cocupa, Cahuilla, Spaniard, Mexican, American, soldier, padre and explorer all have suffered from the assaults of this perverse tribe. Of the Peninsula Indians the Catarina Yumas alone seem to

*The spelling of this tribal name is taken from official Mexican writings. The Indians speak of themselves as Kaa-leé-waas.—A. W. N.

CENTURY-OLD COCUPA COUPLE NEAR THE RIO HARDY

The brave, the one standing, is blind; the bones of his squaw protrude through the skin at the knees

have been addicted to the use of the scalping-knife in warfare.

The Cahuillas have two *rancherias,* Juanook and Arroyo Leon, both on the north slope of San Pedro Mártir Sierra. The Pais, or Pi-pis, also occupy two *rancherias,* one called Dolores, the other unnamed; both lie between the sites of the old Missions of Santa Catarina and San Vicenti. Less than a century ago the range of the Pi-pis extended even to the Colorado River where they early acquired an evil name from their hostile disposition. A small outfit of "Diggers" live southwest of Campo and another east of the site of Guadalupe of the Frontiers. Of these northern tribes the Cahuillas, the Pais and the Catarina Yumas are usually of stalwart frame and noble stature. The Cocupas are a long-haired tribe; some of those living well down by the Hardy have the fine bearing and handsome features ascribed by Cooper to the early New York red men. The "Diggers" live in poor brush affairs, the other northern tribes build more substantially of brush and stakes, roofed over with earth and thatch; the Cocupas frequently make doors from driftwood; the shacks at Dolores are excellently constructed. Firearms are rare among these Indians, but with long bows and arrows they are adept. Their early mission training is evidenced by their continued devotion to the Roman Catholic Church (excepting with the Cocupas who seem regardless of such matters) and by the presence in their *rancherias* of sacred utensils saved from mission ruins.

At Ensenada, San Quintin and Alamo there are Chinese stores, and the existence of an "underground railway" requires unremitting vigilance on the part of the United States Immigration Riders along the Border to prevent the smuggling of Chinese into the State of California. Although these Riders are keen, determined men, they occasionally meet with "accidents," and in one instance, at least, a Chinese conspiracy caused a

Rider to be thrown into the *cuartel,* or jail, at Ensenada. At Santa Rosalia there are many Chinese and Japanese as well as Yaqui Indians employed in the copper mines.

The amusements of all this cosmopolitan population are of a simple nature; music and dancing are especially popular. The grown people find the same zest in play as do the children. The only bull-ring on the Peninsula is kept alive at Tia Juana by tourists and Americans from San Diego. For years, doubtless as a precaution against filibustering schemes, foreigners were not permitted to hold land within twenty Spanish leagues south of the International line, a region termed the Border Zone; and, even though the rigor of the rule has been relaxed of late, this zone continues to be the haunt of a renegade and unstable class of people and is one of the worst sections of Lower California. Indeed, hard though it is for an Anglo-Saxon to admit such a condition, it is a fact that where the Mexicans have been the farthest removed and have mingled the least with foreigners, there their morale is the best; also, that although a strain of *conquistador* blood lends a dignity and mien even to the tenth generation, the seed of an American rover is wont to make of the third generation a shiftless, cunning rascal. Moreover, at heart Mexican women are monogamous, modest and free from grossness; only a morbid delight in appearing gallant can explain the too frequent charge against their virtue made by garrulous travelers.

As the laws provide for the employment of teachers in all districts having ten or more children, there are primary schools in every small settlement on the Peninsula. While studying in the schoolrooms, the youngsters repeat aloud their lessons in a lively monotone that always announces the proximity of the school. The *Distrito Norte* has twenty schools with five hundred pupils, while the school buildings in some of the southern

IN THE BULL RING AT TIA JUANA
Bull-fights are held here not infrequently

pueblos would be a credit to towns in the United States. Secondary education is neglected. Although the higher class of citizens speak a pure Castilian, the popular dialect employs many idioms unknown even on the mainland. The metric system is in general use; throughout the *Distrito Sur,* however, the *fanega* (2.57 bushels) and the *arroba* (25.3 lbs.) of Spain are still units of measurement; moreover, in reckoning distances, the Spanish league (2.6 miles) is employed more universally than the kilometer.

Distances are universally overestimated through the habit of the natives in reckoning a mule's gait at two leagues to the hour when, as a matter of fact, over the prevailing rocky *caminos* four miles to the hour would be a more correct estimate. In the southern district Mexican women are seen not infrequently on horseback. The stirrups of their side-saddles are hung at the *right* side, however, and a low chair back is built up above the cantle and extends slightly to the left side. *Caballeros* (gentlemen) frequently ride with swords thrust in the side of their saddles and *rancheros* protect their legs from the cacti by wearing their immense flaring *chaparejos.*

Many excellent mules are raised in Lower California; horses are used rarely, except on the cattle ranches of La Frontera and Central Lower California and in the southern pueblos; the faithful burro, or donkey, however, has always thrived in all parts of the Peninsula, and throughout the land he fills the place of automobile and railroad. Except for a few thousand in La Frontera, there are no domestic sheep in the country; in the *Distrito Sur* there are numerous flocks of goats. Were it not for the nourishment they obtain by browsing on the pods of the mesquit and the brittle twigs of the *palo verde,* stock, cattle, sheep and goats would entirely perish in seasons of drought. The largest rancho in the *Distrito Norte* includes,

approximately, a million acres. A company, of which a San Diegan is the leading spirit, controls this principality, and thousands of head of cattle graze over its stretches from the central rancho of Ojos Negros to the Hardy and Colorado Rivers. In the southern district, Don Benigno de la Toba, a descendant of the early Spanish governor, is the Señor of the *Hacienda* of San Luis, spreading over one hundred thousand acres. Don Benigno is a progressive citizen and a man of education. And yet, though he has erected a massive business building at San Luis and has had the wisdom to locate more wells on his rancho than has any other *ranchero* on the Peninsula, his people draw water from these wells in the primitive way of the country. A rope, a wheel, a trough; at one end of the rope a pail supervised by a man, at the other end a small boy or girl, mounted on an old mule; the pail end is permitted to sink into the water, then the child end rides away, drawing out the rope; the filled pail, on reaching the surface, is emptied by the man into the trough, and the process is repeated.

Except in some of the mines, a dollar, gold, per day is a high wage. Recently a capable male cook on one of the ranchos received six dollars, gold, per month for his services in cooking for a dozen men. And he was a good cook! Labor, live stock, cattle and fruit bring low prices, while imported provisions and manufactured goods are extremely dear.

Sundays, Saints' Days and holidays are usually observed by cessation from work. The women and the Indians of Lower California are devout Roman Catholics; some of the former even have shrines erected in the homes. The men content themselves by enjoying the ease of many Saints' Days. Religious services are held at almost every mission at least once a year and the coming of the worthy padre is an event.

Two distinctive styles of construction are disclosed by these

PAIS INDIANS AND TYPICAL DWELLING

The author was the first white man whom they had ever seen in their *rancheria*

neglected missions. Thus, in the northern establishments, founded by the Dominicans, protection was evidently a consideration of grave import, and in consequence an adobe fort, fashioned in the form of a square or rectangle and with bastions at the corners, was always erected. Church, parochial house and soldiers' quarters, storerooms and the like were built against the inner surface of the walls and opened into a central square, some two hundred feet in length by one hundred and fifty in breadth. Walls were made of earth, casements of wood, roofs of thatch or tile.

In the Jesuit foundations, on the other hand, the idea of defense was plainly far less dominant than at the north, for, while the erection of a wall and the arrangement of the buildings about a patio was customary, the churches themselves were not fashioned to open out into these patios, except by some minor entrance. Moreover, the greater number of the Jesuit establishments are stone affairs, with churches designed after a general scheme. Thus the interior dimensions of these earliest churches almost universally approximate the following, viz.: length, one hundred and twenty feet; width, twenty-one feet; height, thirty-seven feet. The walls generally measure four feet in thickness. Furthermore, there is usually a belfry—for every mission had its great clamorous bells: at San Xavier there were eight—and a choir loft, approached by a spiral staircase. Finally, and it is a distinctive feature, these stone *iglesias* were roofed, not with tiles or thatch, but enduringly with stones, gravel and cement.

Of the twelve missions last erected, but one, Santo Domingo, boasts standing walls and a roof over a single room. The picks of the avaricious have done thorough work and the buildings of the Dominicans and San Fernandines are in ruins; so, also, are the Jesuit foundations of Dolores del

Norte, Malibat, Santa María and Calamyget, particularly the latter.

So much for adobe buildings, shadowed by traditions of buried treasure, but the stone structures of the south stand, grimly challenging vandals, time and earthquakes. Set away as they are in the lone grandeur of noble sierra amphitheaters, the massive churches of San Borja and Santa Gertrudis are strange, thrilling sights. Built early in the eighteenth century, a brave model for the later church of San Luis Rey in Upper California, San Ignacio stands today in all the pristine beauty of youthful days. San Luis Gonzaga, thanks to Don Benigno de la Toba, is in perfect condition; La Purísima Concepción has endured nigh two centuries, so also have the classic Grecian pillars of San José de Comondú. Santa Rosalia de Mulege has weathered two hundred years and received good care. Loreto, sacred Loreto, has survived pirates, earthquakes, vandals and cloudbursts, though her rent walls tell of them with silent pathos. Her ancient bells are still swung high above the flat mission roofs; in brave clamor, echoing among the palms of this early capital of the Californias and out upon the brilliant-hued waters of the Sea of Cortez, these bells even now call the faithful to prayers, while in her inner chapel Our Lady of Loreto, though shorn of her beauteous ropes of pearls, smiles down upon the infants brought for blessing as she smiled upon their forefathers over two centuries ago. Lastly, but foremost, majestic San Francisco Xavier de Vigge, far antedating though it does both the Mexican and American governments, is at once the best preserved and most beautiful of the missions in either of the Californias. The lover of antiquities may turn his steps to San Xavier, assured of a sight worthy a journey along *El Camino Real.* Of the priests on the Peninsula, one, Padre Marseliano of Mulege, has charge of the missions

from San Luis Gonzaga to Santa María. To cover his district in the only way possible — mule-back — requires ten weeks steady work. Delicate student though he is, the padre cheerfully accomplishes this, probably the roughest journey required of any priest in the world.

To summarize in the fewest of words: in their pueblos the Californians lead a quaint, provincial, but withal an interesting, life; in the interior the miners and *rancheros* enjoy a primitive and truly pastoral existence; over all hangs the atmosphere of the days of the padres. Lastly, a perfect climate blesses the country.

VIII

THE MINES OF LOWER CALIFORNIA

Health and riches are the two great desires of mankind. Of the former the Peninsula is lavish; but what can it offer in riches?

Nearly four centuries have elapsed since Cortez sent forth his voyagers to make diligent search for the treasure land of the Montezumas, the fountainhead of the Aztec wealth, the mysterious island whence the Montezumas acquired their jewels and their mighty stag antlers, their gold, silver and copper, and which the caciques of Colima described as lying across the waters northwest of the City of Mexico. In 1534 these voyagers found, at the Bay of Santa Cruz (now La Paz), a strange northwesterly land, rich in pearls. Since that day over ten million dollars' worth of these jewels have been gathered along the east coast of Lower California. Long after Cortez and his men had passed away, explorers saw feeding in the valley of the Sacramento great herds of elk with wide-spreading antlers, such as adorned the palaces of the Montezumas. But, although Spain controlled the Californias for nearly three centuries, during that time her explorers, her padres and her soldiers were utterly unable to find in the northwesterly land, or elsewhere, the Aztec fountainhead of riches. In what they ultimately termed *Alta,* or Upper, *California* (in which were included the present American States of California and Nevada), her treasure-seekers found sign neither of jewels nor of minerals, but in the Cacachilas, south of La

Paz, they did obtain some gold and silver even as early as the forepart of the eighteenth century; and near the Peninsula Missions of San Borja and Calamyget padres and soldiers found copper and silver, while in other southern mission neighborhoods they located gold placers.

Though untold wealth was there, no new mineral discoveries were made in the Californias during the quarter of a century of Mexican domination, and yet, after the American acquisition of Upper California, Anglo-Saxon energy dug out from the canyons and slopes of the Sierra Nevadas golden treasure rich beyond even the accounts of the old caciques. A decade later silver mines were opened in Nevada, and her "bonanza days" of sudden mining fortunes aroused the world. Finally, with the coming of the twentieth century, a jewel region was found near Pala, in eastern San Diego County, California. Already the State of California had become a great copper producer.

Nearly four generations ago Cortez sent forth his voyagers to make diligent search for the mysterious island to the northwest where the Montezumas acquired their jewels, their mighty stag antlers, their gold, silver and copper. In over three centuries' time, Latin races found pearls and some gold, silver and copper on the Peninsula; in the more northerly region they found only the antlers. In half a century an aggressive, wealthy people have been able to find in the old Upper California of Spain and Mexico a fabulous storehouse of gold, silver, copper and jewels—and, incidentally, they have annihilated the elk. What might they bring to light on the Peninsula? As there are not five men living who have explored Lower California thoroughly and as no expert mining man has ever done so, such a question can only be answered by submitting comparisons for conclusions.

The sierras of the Peninsula have been classed by geologists as a continuation of the mountain range that extends down from the southern portion of the California-Nevada interstate boundary. According to E. W. Nelson, the naturalist, the mountain sheep named for him and a native of this upper range is practically the same animal as the sheep inhabiting the sierras of Lower California and termed by Clavijero, the *taje.* The flora and fauna of the two regions have also been ranked together. These northern interstate mountains were prospected nearly forty years ago. Finally the prospectors deserted them as too bleak, barren and worthless for further attention, and yet today railroads enter their fastness and take out millions upon millions of gold ore, dug from the mines of the Tonopah and Goldfield districts in Nevada.

The prospecting that has been done in Lower California has been superficial and confined to limited sections near the main *caminos* and water-holes. Were the sierras to receive a twentieth part of the careful attention that has been bestowed upon the mountain regions of what was Mexican *Alta California,* what would be the result? Would the treasure-house of the Montezumas be found, or would each new locality "pinch out"? These are questions for the future to answer. President Diaz has faithfully done his part by reducing the dangers of Lower California travel, and it merely remains for capital and energy to enter the lists.

In light of the unfortunate history of the country, the mineral discoveries already made hold out a fair promise for the future. The earliest mining locality in the Californias lies in the Cacachilas where the mining town of San Antonio Real was established before Junipero Serra entered the country. In this section the El Progresso Mining Company is operating the Triumfo mines, which have been steadily productive for

over forty years, their main output being silver. Over seven hundred men are employed. These mines are controlled by American capital and managed by an American mining engineer. The plant is large and the high substantial wall erected about it bears grim testimony to the days, prior to the rule of President Diaz, when mining on the Peninsula was conducted under constant menace from revolutionists. In this locality there are also small mines in operation, producing gold, silver, copper and lead. None of them, however, have been sufficiently developed for a determination of their value.

La Paz, itself, is the seat of the pearl-fishing industry of California. The annual output is valued at a quarter of a million dollars, gold, and is promptly marketed in London, Paris and other great European marts. The industry is growing in size; it is in the hands of three concessionaires—the Mangara Exploration Company, Sr. G. J. Vivés and Sr. M. Carnejo, among whom the pearl-oyster sections of the coast are divided. For the special preservation of the industry, a decree was enacted in 1872 by which the Gulf was partitioned off into four pearl regions which are fished successive years in rotation. The fishing is done from the months of May to October. The pearls are of good average quality and are obtained by Indian divers, provided with modern diving apparatus. Practically all the black pearls in the world come from Lower California. Pearls of large size are found at times. One was secured in 1891 that sold for $17,000.

In 1900 there was a wild rush for the Santa Clara gold fields near San Roque on the Pacific side of the Peninsula near the twenty-seventh parallel of latitude, but water was scarce and no great amount of gold was secured.

To the north of these placers, however, there are vast fields of salt near Ojo de Liebre and others to the southeast of Ojo

de Liebre. These salines lie untouched. Still more wonderful salt beds are those of Carmen Island, in the Gulf off Loreto. This island is seventeen miles long and six wide. Its salt beds, the greatest in the world, are two and a half miles long by half a mile in width. The salt is of natural formation and lies in superposed strata sixty-seven inches in thickness with a strata of water between each of salt. Although excavations of eleven feet have been made without any failure of salt, the extreme depth of the stratification is unknown. The surface alone is worked and, as the salt from this is carried away, the water from the lower strata rises to the surface, and after coming in contact with the air and sunshine, within a fortnight fills the old strata with new salt. The salt is dug out practically pure, and by means of a diminutive railroad is delivered on shipboard at a cost of but twenty-five cents per ton. Prior to 1750 the Jesuit missionaries offered to entirely support all the California missions in return for a perpetual grant to them of Carmen Island, but the King of Spain declined to consider the proposition. One of their historians said of the island: "Although all the fleets of Europe might gather there to load salt from the deposit, they never could exhaust it, not only on account of its great extent, but principally because salt is reproduced as soon as taken out." And this statement time seems to have borne out. Still another salt field lies at San Bruno, between Mulege and Santa Rosalia, and there are extensive salt ponds at San Quintin.

Gold placers were discovered near the twenty-eighth parallel of latitude in the northwestern portion of Central Lower California in 1883 at a place called Calmalli. A quarter of a million dollars was taken out during the mining excitement and a certain amount of mill work is still being done at Calmalli and the adjacent mining camp of Alaman.

HARBOR OF SANTA ROSALIA AND MINING SMELTER OF EL BOLEO

meters in length with a gauge of 0.926 meters. The rolling stock consists of 9 Baldwin locomotives and 215 cars — including ore cars, coke cars and flat cars, etc. The tonnage hauled is about 500,000 tons annually.

The smelter comprises at this time 10 water-jackets of a capacity of 150 tons per 24 hours. The ore is delivered into very large bins from which it is taken and passed to the furnaces. Three especially constructed machines compress the fine stuff into balls. The production of copper has varied between 10,500 and 11,000 tons; only the lack of a sufficient number of miners has prevented its reaching 12,000 tons or more. The air necessary for the smelting furnaces is supplied by four large Root blowers driven by two Corliss compound engines of 175 horse-power each. The sea-water utilized in the water-jackets is pumped up by a Riedler duplex pump of 2,400 cubic meters per hour capacity run by a compound Corliss engine of 250 horse-power.

The electrical plant comprises two triphase-current generators of 250 horse-power each, and two triphase-current generators of 500 horse-power each, the four built in the Oerlikon shops, Switzerland. These generators are run by four steam engines made by the house of Sulzer Brothers, Winterthur, Switzerland. All the hoisting and traction engines, ventilators and pumps in the mines and connections are run by electricity generated at the central plant in Santa Rosalia. The electric lighting everywhere, Santa Rosalia and mines, is run from the same central point, and consists of some 1,300 incandescent and 55 arc lamps.

For the repairing and preservation of the immense working plant very large machine shops are established containing the most modern utensils.

The *Compagnie du Boleo* ships all of its copper to Europe by large steamers of the *Chargeurs Reunis Company*. The transportation of cattle and foodstuff is done by the steamer *Korrigan II* belonging to the company. The coke and coal come from Germany and England; 28 large lighters and 6 tugs are used in unloading it. The company handles per year from 80,000 to 125,000 tons merchandise over its wharf, besides 5,000,000 feet of lumber brought from the west coast of the United States.

The company is constructing at this time a large harbor which when finished will have a surface of 15 hectares.

A dredge built in Europe, and 3 large iron lighters of 200 tons capacity each, are dedicated to the work of dredging the port.

The Boleo Company has supported a population of over 8,000

HYDRAULIC MINING AT SOCORRO

souls, of whom some 200 are Europeans. It has built at its own expense comfortable houses for its employes and workmen. The new village of Santa Rosalia has wide straight streets, a schoolhouse, church, roofed market, theater, etc.

The hospital, also the property of the company, is large and well appointed. All the employes and workmen have the privilege of free medical attendance and free medicines. Two French doctors are attached to the hospital.

The company receives from Europe, the United States of America and Mexico all of the supplies and necessaries for the entire population. It has large warehouses, and four retail stores at Santa Rosalia and in the mining-camps for the distribution of said supplies.

The arid nature of this part of Lower California does not permit of agricultural pursuits; vegetables are brought principally from San Francisco. A little garden-truck comes from Santa Agueda, a small hamlet near Santa Rosalia where the company owns some property and whence it brings in a six (6) inch pipe for 18 kilometers distance the drinking water for the inhabitants and the sweet water for the boilers which run the machinery and locomotives.

In the Waist of the Peninsula the largest mining plant is the property of the San Juan Mining Company, an American concern; the mills are located at Los Flores, off Los Angeles Bay. The first location was made in 1889, and since then the mines have produced over two million dollars of silver ore and there are still great quantities in sight. Between the mines and mills there is a wire tramway two and a half miles in length and a seven-mile railroad. The mines of San Juan were originally located through an old tradition.

The mining-camp of Calamajuet, ten miles above the old Mission of Calamyget, is of recent location, but from appearances copper, gold and silver are all here gathered in close proximity. A quarter of a million dollars was taken from the gold mines at San Francisquito, just above Calamajuet. Although both of these localities are in the center of a mineral region, they are heavily handicapped by lack of water.

Northwest of Calamajuet and half a dozen leagues inland from Punto Cañoas there is a small mining pueblo called Catarina. From the Julius Cæsar Mine (the Mexicans, accustomed to saints, speak of it as the "San Julio" or "Saint Julius" Mine), near Catarina, over two million dollars' worth of copper and gold has been mined. In the same neighborhood gold has been taken from the Columbia Mine, while the "Evangelina" and several other shafts have developed rich copper veins. From the San Fernando Copper Mine, near the mission of that name, several thousand tons of copper ore were extracted, and then litigation stopped all work. Although there is a mine of onyx southeast of San Fernando from which a couple of thousand tons of beautiful onyx have been quarried, the expense of transportation is such that little work is done. Both white and clouded marble have been found further down in the Waist of the Peninsula and in Central Lower California, but capital and energy alone are wanting for quarrying purposes. Northwest of San Fernando there are vast beds of iron ore, all unworked, and northward toward Rosarito there are ancient gold mines now being reopened. In one of these mines a strange ancient piece of cloth was found in the summer of 1906.

According to tradition and the belief of many, San Pedro Mártir Sierra is rich in jewels and various minerals. As a matter of fact there are two mines on its western slope where American capital has brought water from the heights and done successful hydraulic mining for gold. These mines are known as Socorro and Valladeras. Immediately north of this sierra is the mining pueblo of Alamo, the seat of a mining excitement in 1888. Gold was first found here by an escaped Mexican convict. Although many rich "pockets" have been dug up at Alamo, the company operating the largest plant is

TWO BABIES AT THE MINES OF EL TRIUMFO

so secretive and has so frequently closed its works that accurate information is unavailable concerning its mines. Two million dollars, however, is a conservative estimate of the total output to date from the diggings at Alamo.

Sulphur has been found down in the Cocupa Sierras and gold mining is now being undertaken with some success in the Pintos. The mines of Juarez and about Real de Castillo seem to have "pinched out." At Tres Piños the Ringe Estate of Los Angeles has installed an immense dredger with which it has made an initial success in securing a large deposit of fine gold. In the neighborhood of the old Mission of San Vicenti there are large unworked deposits of iron ore, and south of the mission lies the early Delphina Copper Mine which has not been operated for years. About Rosarito shale has been found, traces of oil and asphaltum may be seen southwest of San Vicenti and lime is universally abundant. Ledges of sheet mica exist on the Peninsula and traces of tin and great numbers of jewels—garnets, emeralds, topazes, tourmalines, beryls and opals—have been dug up at various times.

To summarize: in their search for traditional treasure in the Californias the Spaniards were unable to find any minerals in Upper California, but in the Cacachila Sierras in the Cape Region they located mines of gold and silver which have been operated fitfully now for over a hundred and sixty years; of these the one group properly capitalized has produced steadily for forty years. In the other three subdivisions of the Peninsula, pearls, the "semi-precious" jewels, and deposits of copper, salt, iron, onyx, marble, gold, silver, mica, sulphur, tin and oil, practically every variety of mineral, excepting only coal, has been found throughout the sierras. The pearl fisheries, the salt fields and the Santa Rosalia copper mines have felt the invigorating touch of capital, and in quick response have attained

rank among the world's great producers. The lack of coal, for in Lower California fuel is scarce, and the lack of water are the most serious handicaps of the miner.

If these deposits were developed by capital would they exhibit the southern faculty of "pinching out" or would they turn the country into a vast treasure-house? The solution of this question, water and transportation are the problems on which depend the future of the Mother of California.

IX

THE LAND THAT REACHES DOWN TOWARD PANAMA

After today comes tomorrow. For Lower California what future has tomorrow in store? Mines and quarries, game and health-restoring climate, sugar and cattle-raising, perhaps medicinal herbs—these would seem to be the assets by which *pobre Baja California* might yet regain her lost position. These, yes, and one far weightier—geographical location! And this brings squarely into the lime-light a question that cannot be disregarded: Would it not be to the benefit of both countries for Mexico to sell and the United States to buy the Peninsula?

The consideration of this question at once discloses a unique situation: on the one hand, Lower California has long proven an expense and of no especial benefit to Mexico. Why? Chiefly, because of its geographical location. On the other hand, the forlorn Peninsula promises to become, in the near future, of the highest value to the United States. Why? Chiefly, because of its geographical location!

This seeming anomaly will be the more appreciable after a brief statement of conditions.

First, however, to consider the attitude of those directly involved—the residents of the Peninsula. To them a national transfer would not be unacceptable, for the Lower California Mexicans, especially the native-born, have now acquired a strong regard for the northern Republic, even though its citi-

zens first came among them as invaders, then as filibusters and only too frequently, since those early days, as unscrupulous promoters, trading on the kindly confidence of the natives. Freely, and in the most natural manner, these kindly people speak of possible annexation. *El Presidente* Diaz is dear to their hearts. Should he say that because of the intervening Sea of Cortez the development and protection of the Peninsula is a burden to the home government, then it would be entirely satisfactory for them to be reunited with Upper California where many of them have visited and where all of them have friends and not a few kinsfolk. They realize that their isolation from the mainland precludes all hope of any great development under their present government; they know that without such development no statehood* awaits them. On the other hand, should *El Presidente* consider that Mexico needs her western Peninsula, then under no consideration would these Californians consider annexation to the United States. And annexation to any other nation they would bitterly resent. As to the few Indians and foreign residents, annexation could not disturb their rights.

Briefly, then, this native conception of the situation, plus the fact that virtually all attempts at colonization either from home or abroad have failed, discloses the conditions which might make of Mexico a possible vendor.

An exposition of correlative conditions which might now induce the United States to disregard the ominous failures which have discredited *pobre Baja California,* and to enter the market as a tentative purchaser, calls for a far broader prospective. At the outset, the fact must be borne in mind

*Paragraph 111, Article LXXII, Subdivision 11, of the Political Constitution of the Mexican Republic requires a territorial population of 80,000 as a prerequisite for statehood.—A. W. N.

THE PLAZA AT LA PAZ

Little girls *en route* to the church for their First Communion

that Uncle Sam once acquired the Peninsula and cast it aside as "the tail-end of an earthquake," not worth holding. Sixty years of marvelous growth and vast expansion for the great northern Republic have elapsed since that incident, however, and even the events of the last decade have so changed the Pacific outlook of the United States that her statesmen may now see an approaching value in the mere geographical location of the California Peninsula that is nigh worthless to the sister Republic.

And now to arrive at the kernel of this situation. Today, above the Philippines, floats the flag of the United States, and her eastward-bound argosies carry rich cargoes to her cities of Seattle and San Francisco. To the south, down across the Isthmus of Panama, the virile Roosevelt is causing to be dug a deep-sea ship canal to the end that there may be a direct highway where American cargoes from Alaska, the Philippines, Seattle, San Francisco and Los Angeles may pass those westward bound from New Orleans, New York, Boston and other Atlantic cities. Well in advance of the canal, the resourceful Diaz, aided by British capital, opened, early in 1907, an isthmian railroad across narrow Tehuantepec, with fine harbors and docks inviting trade to either terminal. Such are some of the preparations for the trade of the Pacific; even now it behooves the United States to study the pathways of the ancient galleons.

In the days of the *conquistadores* the ships of Spain sailed up from Panama and from Tehuantepec to the safe harbors of the Cape Region of California; and for many generations after 1570, following the route of the sailor monk Urdeneta, her galleons sailed eastward twice a year from the Philippines, advantaging by the fair winds and favoring currents that brought them to the upper coast of California, whence they beat south-

ward to the welcome beacons above those Cape harbors. There they found shelter from storms, there they obtained water and provisions and left their sick to regain health while they continued on to Tehuantepec or Panama where they unloaded their riches for transfer across the narrow stretch intervening between the Pacific and the Atlantic. The Spice Islands, the entire California coast and the Isthmus, threefold essentials to her eastern commerce,—all these were owned by Spain. Her successor in title to those islands possesses Panama Canal rights and certain transit privileges at Tehuantepec; she does not own the land that reaches down toward Tehuantepec and Panama; she does not control the Cape and harbors that sheltered the old spice galleons, isthmus-bound.

Can the United States attain her full measure of success in the Pacific without these? Would it not be a sound business investment for the northern Republic to acquire the finger of land that stretches from her western shores down toward Panama, to have a railroad running its length to meet the ships of her Pacific commerce and navy in its inviting southern harbors, to have her Pacific coast line seven hundred miles nearer to Tehuantepec and Panama, to secure for her ships new ports adjacent to the advantageous currents of the Pacific? With the advance of the work at the Isthmus of Panama these questions will assume a national importance; they will demand affirmative consideration* by the Americans.

Further, indeed, though for reasons of less national import,

*Certain writers have held that Mexico is precluded from all consideration of any territorial transfer by Article XLIV of the Political Constitution of the Mexican Republic which ordains that the Mexican states and "the Territory of Lower California shall preserve the limits they now have." But even though so forced an interpretation were to be maintained, the flexibility of the Mexican Constitution would relieve the situation, a flexibility which is affirmatively evidenced by the fifteen amendments adopted during the single period embraced between September 25, 1873, and May 1, 1896.—A. W. N.

WHERE MAN IS UNKNOWN AND UNFEARED

Sole inhabitants of one of the peninsular islands

the sale of the Peninsula to the United States would be of inestimable local benefit to both Californias even at the present time, inasmuch as its acquisition would prove the solution of the vexing international questions now hampering the progress of the irrigation and development of the Border lands immediately to the west of the inconstant Colorado.

A single instance will suffice to show the fortune that seems to follow the American territorial purchases of the northern Republic. In 1867, by the purchase of Alaska from Russia, an area, ten times the size of the State of New York, was added to the American Union, but so barren and distant was the new region that a storm of derision assailed "Seward's Folly." Earlier in the same year the adverse report of the Ross Browne expedition had come as a bitter disappointment to those who had viewed Lower California as splendid territory for immediate acquisition. The purchase of the barren Alaskan country served to silence with the finger of ridicule all proponents of further purchases of American soil. The new territory lay practically nine hundred miles from the nearest point of the nation. For nearly thirty years it remained a vast, unproductive waste. Then, in a moment, it sprang into golden life, giving forth to the Union a wealth that in a decade has made an Alaskan Klondike synonymous with glittering fortune. Today, though many Americans doubt the policy of retaining the Philippines, no one questions the wisdom of the Government's $7,200,000 investment in Alaska.

It would seem as though no such foresight as that of Secretary Seward's would be requisite for the Americans to appreciate the advisability, under present conditions, of the purchase of Lower California. Moreover, such is the physical configuration of the Californias that three compact commonwealths could easily be formed from them. Without sensible diminu-

tion of its power, its sufficiency or its wealth, the present vast State of California could be reduced* to the region north of Tehachapi Pass; the country from Tehachapi to the twenty-ninth parallel of north latitude, with San Diego or Los Angeles as its capital, would make a homogeneous state noted for climate, traditions, homes, fruits and minerals; finally, the more southerly region, with La Paz or Loreto as its capital, would straightway develop into a great commercial commonwealth, in close touch with Panama, the South Seas and the East, while its fruits, its pearls and its climate would draw people to its shores from the four quarters of the globe.

So much for the future possibilities of Lower California in the event of its sale by Mexico to the United States. Barring such a peaceful transfer, may it ever remain Mexican territory!

In her past dealings with the Peninsula the American Government has twice acted in an unbecoming manner; in past investments in the country American capital has usually erred by endeavoring to promote in unscrupulous ways. Henceforth may northern treatment be upon a higher plane! In the near future may the neglected land awaken from her lethargy, arise and stand side by side with her courted child, the great State of California! For as temperament, that indefinable charm, draws a man's love to a woman, so the nameless fascination of the wild sierras and the vast plains of Lower California, the illusive, infinite spell of the mythical Isle of Ciguatan, has ever won for the Mother of California the hearts of those who have wandered amid her majestic solitudes. To such wanderers there has ever been given an understanding of that intense love for the barren land which burned so

*Provided Congress and the State of California agreed thereto; *vide*, Article IV, Section 3, Subdivision 1, Constitution of the United States; also, 11 Wall, 39: Virginia vs. West Virginia.—A. W. N.

deeply in the hearts of the expelled Jesuits that, in the words of one of the chroniclers, "they were prevented by their tears from seeing the beloved shores receding from their sight."

In conclusion: the resources of Lower California await the advent of Capital; the political future of the country depends on the mutual wishes of the governments of Mexico and the United States. Both are problems for *Mañana* to solve. Meantime, and always, the Peninsula is the land that reaches down toward Panama, and the Panama Canal is advancing.

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